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Black Sea Economic Cooperation Assembly Opens in Kiev

LD2911111993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1010 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By UKRINFORM and TASS]

[Text] Kiev, November 29 (TASS)—Parliamentary delegations from the member countries of the Parliamentary Assembly of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABEC) have arrived in Kiev for the assembly's second session, which will continue from November 29 to December 1.

The assembly's members include Azerbaijan, Georgia, Romania, Turkey and Ukraine, which directly border on the Black Sea, as well as Albania, Armenia, and Moldova, which do not. Although a significant part of the Black Sea coast is Russian, that country is not a member of the assembly. A delegation from Greece is present as an observer.

The members intend to discuss specific problems concerning the Black Sea basin countries, as well as some other questions.

PABEC President Husamettin Cindoruk, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk and Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Ivan Plyushch are expected to attend the assembly's opening session on Monday.

Upon his arrival in Kiev, Vakhtang Goguadze, the speaker of Georgia's parliament, mentioned that he has high hopes for the assembly's second session. He said that his delegation is counting on the upcoming meetings to further both political and economic integration among the member countries.

That may be a difficult task for the Armenian and Azerbaijani delegations, whose countries have yet to agree to an end to their current warfare.

U.S. Congress Passes Bill on Friendship With Ex-Republics

PM2611112593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 3

[Viktor Vladimirov report under "From Our Newsdesk" rubric: "Legislative Barriers Removed"]

[Text] The Senate has approved a "bill on friendship" with former Soviet republics without counting the votes. It envisages the repeal of provisions of many laws which concerned the USSR and which have become obsolete in the new conditions. A week ago, ITAR-TASS reported, this document was approved by the House of Representatives, and it is now being sent to the U.S. President for signature.

The bill is the first step in removing the legislative barriers to developing equal relations between the United States and former Soviet republics. It indicates several dozen provisions of Congress laws and resolutions which have ceased to obtain following the USSR's disintegration, because they concerned or were aimed solely against this state. At the same time, although other provisions of the laws continue to operate they are being amended so that discriminatory restrictions are not aimed solely against former Soviet republics. At the same time laws regulating U.S. exports to these countries and trade with them as a whole are still in force. Regarding these questions as very important, the legislators decided to consider them separately.

NATO 'Interested' in 'Disappearance' of Ex-USSR Hardware

PM2211141593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Report by Yuriy Kovalenko: "NATO Interested in 'Disappearance' of 2,000 Units of Combat Equipment on Territory of Former USSR"]

[Text] Paris—Around 2,000 tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery pieces, which were to be destroyed in accordance with the Treaty on Conventional Forces in Europe [CFE], have mysteriously "disappeared" in Russia and other former republics of the Soviet Union. This has been stated in Brussels by a NATO spokesman, who wishes to remain anonymous.

It is unclear what has nevertheless happened to all this combat equipment, the high-ranking NATO spokesman said. However, the West is demanding explanations from Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Moldova. The confusion emerged, it is being noted within the North Atlantic alliance, after these republics agreed to take upon themselves the reduction of conventional weapons in accordance with the treaty signed by the USSR.

For example, it is being noted in NATO headquarters, Azerbaijan, which is continuing its war with Armenia, does not know exactly what number of weapons it has at its disposal. And Russia still has 25-30 tanks which it should eliminate by the end of November 1993.

Finally, NATO has reacted adversely to Moscow's request that certain amendments be made to the CFE Treaty to enable Russia to increase the quantity of combat equipment in the Caucasus, where the armed conflicts are persisting, AP reports.

Despite the individual hitches, NATO believes, the reduction of conventional weapons is proceeding in line with the schedule defined by the treaty, which entered into force in November of last year. NATO member states and member states of the now dissolved Warsaw Pact have already destroyed over 15,000 tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery pieces.

In line with the treaty, which was signed by 29 states which at one time belonged to the hostile blocs, the countries of the former socialist camp must destroy in all some 35,000 units of weapons of this kind, while their NATO colleagues must destroy 16,000. When this elimination ends in 1995, the NATO and ex-Warsaw Pact states will retain 20,000 tanks each on European territory from the Atlantic to the Urals.

Meeting of Central Asian States, Azerbaijan Postponed

LD2911115593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1100 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The meeting of the heads of states of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, and Azerbaijan in Baku, planned for the end of November, has been postponed until December. This was revealed to a RIA correspondent by Tofik Abbasov, chief of the Azerbaijan president's press service. He did not give any explanation for the postponement of the meeting.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 27 Nov

LD2711075093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0603 GMT 27 Nov 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline; all quotation marks as received]

[Text] Moscow, November 27 (ITAR-TASS)—Today's newspapers focus on a meeting between President Boris Yeltsin and representatives from all the 13 political parties and blocs in the Kremlin on Friday. Meeting participants discussed the campaign for the coming elections to a Federal Assembly (new parliament) on December 12.

Commenting on the meeting, the NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA newspaper writes that as a result of the meeting, "Boris Yeltsin agreed with a proposal from bloc leaders to publish their platforms free of charge in leading newspapers".

"Besides, we shall evidently see on television speeches by individual candidates as well as debates which will be attended, on agreement, by representatives from two or three blocs," the newspaper writes.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA stresses at the same time that the president voiced resolute support for the draft of a Russian constitution, noting that he intends "to stand out firmly for it".

Noting that "the president asked to let the constitution alone", the newspaper underlines that "broadcasts will be shut off if candidates start criticising the draft fundamental law".

Informing its readers of the Kremlin meeting, the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper stresses that "both sides were interested in the meeting, although Boris Yeltsin said that he does not intend to join any election bloc.

The newspaper also pays attention to the president's warning that "free of charge television will be shut off if debate participants "digress from their topic". "Your topic is your election platform", the president noted.

Commenting on TV speeches by participants in the election campaign, the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper notes that "we hear mostly declarations for the time being rather than business-like proposals".

"There is little time left to make adjustments to the election campaign. Yet, there is still some time. In the remaining days before the general elections, voters are waiting for detailed platforms from political parties rather than a show of more or less telegenic leaders," the newspaper writes.

The TRUD newspaper, informing its readers of the Kremlin meeting, notes that "both the president and many leaders of political blocs denounced unethical and sometimes even insulting forms of campaigning, to which some election associations resort.

"The meeting has reached a kind of a gentlemen's agreement to refrain from unseamly methods of the election race."

Writing about the coming elections, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA expresses supposition that "the outlines of a new duma (lower chamber of a new parliament) suspiciously resemble the "White House" parliament building.

The newspaper says that "if the new duma consists of a great number of "irreconcilable" legislators as well as several disintegrated democratic groups fighting each other, the syndrome of the old parliament will recur with a new force".

The press gives extensive coverage to the situation at "flash points" in the former Soviet republics. Under the headline "not only the military should be preoccupied with peace-making", KRASNAYA ZVEZDA features an interview with Russian Deputy Defence Minister Boris Gromov, dealing with the situation in Tajikistan.

Gromov writes that "the situation in the republic is very difficult even now. The point in question is not only the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border (attempts to cross it happen nearly every day).

"The situation is also complicated inside the country. Allegations that there is no domestic opposition, are very questionable. Whom do armed gangs want to join by breaking through the border?

"We should not be fooled by the present lull. Hostilities usually subside in that region in wintertime. Winter is used to build up forces and to create munitions depots. When spring comes in and mountain passes open, opposition will bring main forces to grab power.

"Therefore, this is exactly the time to step up the political dialogue with the opposition. To my mind, the authorities should display initiative in this case."

In this connection, Gromov underlines that "Russian Armed Forces are now forced to fulfill peace-keeping operations. But peace-making is a task of not only Russian Armed Forces".

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA dwells at length on the situation in the Armenian-Azeri conflict around Nagorno-Karabakh.

The newspaper quotes the opinion of Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan who claims that it is necessary to combine the peace-making efforts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and of Russia in settling the conflict.

The same newspaper reports a request by an Armenian parliament commission addressed to international organisations for interference, since "death looms over Armenian hostages in Azerbaijan".

A report from Azerbaijan points to a growing danger of Iran's involvement in the Karabakh conflict.

Referring to journalists' interview with Yuriy Ivanov, defence lawyer of former Russian Vice-President Aleksandr Rutskoy, TRUD describes progress in the investigation into the mass riots in Moscow on October 3-4.

In Ivanov's opinion, "the investigation will be lengthy. It will be possibly divided into two cases: events at the Ostankino TV station and at the Moscow townhall.

Reviews 'Itogi,' 'Voskresenye' Program

LD2911062293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0606 GMT 29 Nov 93

["Review of Television Analytical News Programme Itogi"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow November 29 ITAR-TASS—Yevgeniy Kiselev, the anchor of the Sunday night television analytical programme Itogi, opened the issue with the results of an opinion poll conducted in some Russian cities by the Obshestvennoye Mnenie Foundation. According to the poll Russia's Choice is now leading, with 22 per cent of the voters willing to vote in its favour. Russia's Choice is followed by the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc (9 per cent), with Shakhray's Party of Russian Unity and Accord coming third (six per cent).

The Communists and the Democratic Party of Russia share the fourth and the fifth places with 5 per cent each. They are followed by the Civic Union (3 per cent) and the Liberal Democratic Party of Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (2 per cent).

According to Kiselev the Russian Movement of Democratic Reforms headed by Anatoliy Sobchak is unlikely to clear the 5 per cent barrier necessary for winning seats in the parliament. In the countryside the Agrarian Party is clearly in favour.

Itogi referred to Boris Yeltsin's last-week meeting with the representatives of 13 electoral groupings as a major event. Boris Yeltsin called on the groupings to stick to the rules in their televised electioneering and refrain from attacks on the president and the constitution.

Some experts appeared on Itogi to commend on the electoral campaign and prospects for the future parliament. Vladimir Luskanov, for example, said, "in the course of the campaign we see all the same faces but hear nothing about party programmes". Luskanov believes, nonetheless, that the parliament will be "polarised by the programme principle". Another expert (Igor Klyamkin) said "delimitation has begun between communist and nationalist groupings, with the communist ideology having fully exhausted itself".

Last week, according to Kiselev, "Vladimir Zhirinovskiy raised hell by telling Radio Liberty that he was sure to get about 30 per cent of the votes."

Itogi gave much time to reports from the provinces. A report from Sakhalin prepared by Radio Liberty correspondent Savik Shuster noted that many voters had lost trust in blocs and do not intend to vote for any of the electoral groupings.

A report devoted to the First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar's tour of the mining regions of Russia, over which "the readiness to strike" is looming. Kiselev said the outcome of the parliamentary elections can to a considerable degree depend on the miners' strike.

President of the Chechen Republic Dzhokhar Dudayev said acts of terrorism in the republic were provoked by the activity of the Russian special services instigating local separatists to illegal actions. Dudayev said "strikes are being conceived against Chechnya aimed at toppling the republic's authorities, including the liquidation of the president".

Former Soviet republics are now grappling with their own currency problems and facing great difficulties in creating a new rouble zone, Itogi said. Hot on the heels of the appearance of Kazakhstan's Tenge and Azerbaijan's Manat, Armenia is planning to introduce its own currency. According to expert Sergey Vasiliyev, Russia is benefiting from the introduction of national currencies in former Soviet republics, because "import of inflation" from these republics is reduced as a result.

Itogi paid much attention to the decision of Ukraine to condition the ratification of the Start treaty by a number of points. Itogi observer Aleksandr Gerasimov said Kiev's latest manoeuvring has caused tension in its relations with Moscow which responded with an "ultimatum-style statement and threatened sanctions".

Ukraine, according to the observer, "decided to raise some money by nuclear blackmail". According to expert Andrey Kortunov, Ukraine's refusal to join the nuclear non-proliferation treaty points to its desire to "bank on the interests of the immediate situation".

The Ostankino "Voskresenye" programme, which also devoted much time to the upcoming elections, presented

a somewhat different line- up of public forces based on its own opinion polls. According to Anchor Alekseyev, "the rating of Russia's Choice went down during last week, while the rating of Gennadiy Zyuganov (Russian Communist Party) and Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (Liberal Democratic Party) went up".

Professor Sergey Alexeyev appeared on Voskresenye to comment on the draft constitution and said "the constitution must lay down the rights of citizens which must be protected by courts" and regretted that some of the provisions in the constitution were purely declarative in nature.

Tatarstan's President Mintimer Shaymiyev said in an interview with the Voskresenye that in defending its sovereignty the republic was not encroaching on Russia's integrity. He said some people in Russia were "still unable to give up imperial thinking". Chairman of the Central Bank of Russia Viktor Gerashchenko said in an interview with Voskresenye that "the Russian Government intends to ease the tension in the mining regions of Russia".

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Holds Friday Briefing

LD2611232793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1706 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] Even though Moscow attaches great importance to relations between Russia and Armenia, it cannot disregard the safety and dignity of its official representatives and president. This statement was made at Friday's briefing in Moscow by the chief of the Russian Foreign Ministry's press and information department, Grigoriy Karasin.

He deplored "Armenia's refusal to meet the most elementary demand—apologize for the indisputable fact that on November 20 fire was opened from the Armenian side on the motorcade of Vladimir Kazimirov, a special envoy of the Russian president." "This seriously and unnecessarily complicates Russian-Armenian relations," said Karasin.

It includes another negative aspect—the peace process slows down, he said. "The Armenian government speaks about the importance of Russia's mediatory role, but makes no practical steps to ensure its resumption," the diplomat pointed out.

According to him, "the hypocritical claims that Russia has altered its approach to the process of settlement and developed a pro-Azeri trend, are now in use." "Throughout its mediatory activity Russia has strictly adhered, and intends to firmly adhere, to objectivity and impartiality toward all participants in the conflict in the process of its settlement," he concluded.

With reference to the recent negotiations on military-technical cooperation between Russia and Cuba, Karasin said these relations "were adapted to today's realities and totally freed in this context from what characterized the time of confrontation between blocs: they have been transferred with mutual consent and understanding to universally accepted norms in all areas, including military- technical ties."

Cuba's First Deputy Defense Minister Casas Regeiro, who led his country's delegation, was received by Russia's First Deputy Defense Minister and Chief of General Staff, Mikhail Kolesnikov, the foreign ministry spokesman said. He also held constructive talks in the Ministry for External Economic Relations. The two sides signed an intergovernmental agreement on forming joint organizations. The agreement provides for the use of modern—free-market—forms of interaction in the area of production and in financial and economic cooperation. "Evidently the implementation of this agreement will involve Russian commercial structures which have already displayed their interest in it," said Karasin.

Karasin also announced that the Russian government had established an Inter-Departmental Commission for Coordination of Russia's participation in peace keeping. Deputy Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov and Deputy Defense Minister Georgiy Kondratyev were confirmed as the commission's co-chairmen. An appropriate office will be established within the Russian Foreign Ministry for the commission's work. The commission will consist of representatives of 15-16 departments.

The commission is primarily and urgently to work on the concept of the Russian Federation peace making activities and on the draft law on the basic principles of participation of Russian military and civilian personnel in joint peace keeping operations, Karasin pointed out.

According to Karasin, the Russian government has adopted a resolution cancelling "all restrictions" on relations with the Republic of South Africa in the political, economic, financial, scientific, technical, cultural, sporting and other fields. This was due to the resolution 48/1 by the UN General Assembly which had cancelled the sanctions on relations with the Republic of South Africa in the civilian domain.

The Russian Foreign Ministry official emphasized that the resolution did not embrace military and military-technical cooperation prohibited by the appropriate resolutions of the UN Security Council. "The resolution recognizes the new political realities emerged in the Republic of South Africa. It offers additional opportunities for enhancing cooperation between Russia and the Republic of South Africa both at the state level and at the level of private entrepreneurs," he said.

Kostikov Pessimistic About Prospects for Joining NATO

LD2611135893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1329 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Melnikova and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Spokesman of the Russian president is rather pessimistic about prospects for Russia to join NATO.

"I do not think that Russia and NATO are ready for that", Vyacheslav Kostikov told reporters on friday, adding that "this is a complicated issue which demands a revision of the concept of ensuring the world order".

"If Russia joins NATO, it would be not a bloc, but a certain military community which can act as a mighty military instrument in order to be a guarantor of settling conflicts in the whole world or of controlling them", Kostikov said.

The spokesman added that the question of Russia's joining NATO "needs to be very thoroughly analysed".

He warned that the haste with which East European nations want to join the North Atlantic alliance "causes

concern not only of the Russian military and politicians, but also of ordinary citizens" who fear NATO extension to the Russian borders.

"Russia nas no right to ban anyone from joining NATO, it can only express its attitude towards that", Kostikov said.

Further Comments

AU2611153993 Paris AFP in English 1438 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, Nov 26 (AFP)—Russia would be worried about an expansion of NATO even if Russia were among the countries to be included in the Alliance, President Boris Yeltsin's spokesman said Friday.

Vyacheslav Kostikov told reporters that worries about expanding the North Atlantic Treaty Organization were felt not just by politicians and generals but by all citizens and added that Russian membership in NATO needed "a good deal of very deep analysis."

"I don't think that either Russia or NATO are ready for this," Kostikov said.

"It is a complicated question that, to be resolved, requires a revision in concepts of the world order," he added.

Kostikov's remarks were the second warning in as many days from Russian officials against expanding the Alliance too quickly.

Yevgeny Primakov, the chief of Russia's foreign intelligence service, said Thursday that moves to include eastern European countries in NATO would be met with "fundamental" military countermeasures by Russia.

Primakov said his views, based on a KGB study, had the backing of the Russian military.

Despite his misgivings, Kostikov noted however that Russia "does not have the right" to prevent any country from joining NATO and said its eventual expansion could transform the Alliance into a kind of global conflict-control organization.

Shaposhnikov: Many Still See NATO as Aggressive Alliance

LD2611234393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1702 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Many people in Russia and other CIS states still see NATO as an aggressive alliance. It would be hard to imagine its troops on a peacekeeping mission to Georgia, Armenia or other hotbeds on the territory of the former Soviet Union. This statement was made by a candidate for the State Duma of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, at his press conference at the International Press Center in Moscow today, commenting on Russia's relations with this organization.

In his opinion, the complicated situation in many regions of the world requires a stronger UN Military Staff Committee. Its experts should submit their prognoses of possible military developments in potential conflict areas to the United Nations, according to the officer.

Speaking on the Russian armed forces' current problems, the former CIS armed forces commander and former Security Council Secretary supported wider cooperation within the CIS on all defense issues and the military and industrial complex.

Shaposhnikov said that today Russia's armed forces cannot abandon the practice of levies, but they should develop warrant and alternative services along with the compulsory one.

Shaposhnikov pointed out that his point of view that the army must never be used inside the state had altered after the October developments in Moscow. Now he believes that sometimes it is possible.

Kozyrev Cited on Boosting Pan-European Institutions

PM2611213593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under "Politics" rubric: "Mastering the Art Not Only of Talking About Peace But Also of Establishing It—This Is the Idea Andrey Kozyrev, Head of the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Is Taking to Rome and Brussels"]

[Text] December is a month for summing up the results of political activity within international organizations. So it is that next Tuesday foreign ministers will gather in Rome to discuss the results of their work within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Three days later, on Friday, again at ministerial level, another discussion will take place in Brussels. This time, its organizer will be the North Atlantic Cooperation Council [NACC].

"At these forums, Russia's delegation intends to submit a whole range of proposals destined to raise the effectiveness of pan-European institutions," Andrey Kozyrev says. "Some time prior to these meetings we distributed to our partners a working memorandum in which we expounded our view on various areas of CSCE activity, and the development of the pan-European process. The thrust of these initiatives consists in mastering the art not only of talking about peace but also of establishing it."

Andrey Vladimirovich stresses that the Russian ideas presuppose above all a shift by the CSCE toward defending the individual against aggressive nationalism, as well as vigorous peacemaking activity on the part of international institutions, and their modernization. In particular, it is necessary to adopt a document on counteracting aggressive nationalism as one of the main causes of regional conflicts, to bolster the status of the

CSCE high commissioner for the affairs of national minorities, to draw up a charter of the latter's rights, and to hold a special conference on migration problems. As for the NACC, this council ought to become an instrument in the "partnership for peace," an autonomous organ coordinating under the aegis of the CSCE the peacemaking efforts of NATO, the Western European Union, and the CIS, as well as coordinating cooperation in the sphere of military planning and conversion between the countries of NATO, Eastern Europe, and the CIS.

Attack Helicopters Destroyed Under CFE Treaty

PM2511132593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Report from Orenburg Oblast by Natalya Gorbenko and Vitaliy Syrtsov; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] The CFE Treaty signed in 1990 between NATO and Russia is being implemented as planned. This was confirmed by an inspection group that visited Orenburg Oblast.

[Gorbenko] The Tula Division has the only area in Russia where, in accordance with the terms of the treaty, 100 attack helicopters are to be destroyed. An inspection group comprising representatives from eight countries saw for itself that the first 25 helicopters had been cut up as scheduled. This is undoubtedly taking place in order to lessen the danger of war breaking out and to ensure a peaceful future for our children. But military specialists could not provide a clear-cut answer to our question about conversion—yet there is such a lot of talk these days about transferring military hardware and equipment to the national economy. Could these fine costly machines be put to peaceful use? Or is it essential to cut them up for scrap? Opinion was divided: Some said that they were totally worn out and the helicopters had outlived their service life. Others had their doubts on this and thought they could serve a turn for a few years to come. Oh well, evidently army discipline does not allow for this kind of debate. And we were so keen for this military-technical potential to go on providing a service for oil and gas workers and the country people of Orenburg Oblast.

Tanks, Infantry Vehicles Dismantled

PM2611112393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Yakov Firsov and Anatoliy Maksimchuk of the North Caucasus Military District Press Center: "Our Tanks were Fast"]

[Text] The first stage of work under the CFE Treaty of 19 November 1990 has been completed at the tank and armaments destruction center in the village of Kushchevskaya in Krasnodar Kray.

Six foreign military inspections have confirmed that the Russian side is efficiently carrying out its commitments. Since the beginning of the tank and armament reduction program, the subordinates of Colonel Valentin Tishchenko have dismantled over 260 tanks and infantry fighting vehicles.

Ukraine Accused of 'Gross Violation' Over START

LD2611194293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Russian Government today accused Ukraine of a gross violation of international obligations with respect to nuclear weapons. It concerns the Ukrainian Supreme Council's resolution of 18 November on the START Treaty signed by Ukraine and the Lisbon Protocol to the treaty. For a long time Kiev has been promising that Ukraine would fulfill the obligations that it had taken on itself. However, with its resolution, the Supreme Council has practically canceled their fundamental provisions: Ukraine has officially declared its ownership of nuclear weapons and Article Five of the Lisbon Protocol, in accordance with which Ukraine had pledged to join the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons as a nonnuclear state which was the main condition for its participation in START I, has been rejected. The resolution means Ukraine keeps a significant part of its nuclear warheads and their rockets. Announcing the statement, Grigoriy Karasin, a Russian Foreign Ministry representative, said in particular:

[Begin Karasin recording] The Russian Government states that the decision of the Ukrainian Supreme Council with respect to the START I Treaty cannot be recognized because the stipulations in this decision distort the aims of this treaty. The stipulations that have been indicated are incompatible, in particular, with Article 12 of the Vienna Convention on the Law of International Treaties. The resolution of the Ukrainian Supreme Council of 18 November has created a situation where Russia is not in a position to maintain, as it has done up to now, strategic offensive weapons on Ukrainian territory. Such maintenance in the situation that has arisen would mean that the Russian Federation was acting in contravention to the treaty on the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Ukraine's unilateral actions, which affect the interests of all states, may require measures taken by the international community, including within the framework of the United Nations, for preventing the undermining of the process of nuclear disarmament, strategic stability, and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. Russia was and remains committed to the policy of nuclear disarmament and the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons and adheres strictly to the principle of all countries fulfilling international obligations. The world knows that the Russian Government, responding to the requests of the Ukrainian side, has striven to do all it can in order to make it easier for Ukraine to fulfill its international obligations. Russia has solved all issues relating to Ukraine receiving the peace

dividend from the liquidation of all strategic nuclear weapons deployed on its territory.

The corresponding agreements on this have been drawn up and signed at the level, no less, of the leaders of government of both countries. Russia has given Ukraine all necessary guarantees of its security that are provided by international law. The Russian side is further prepared to have a constructive dialogue with the Ukrainian side in order to solve the entire complex of problems of nuclear disarmament. In order to do this, Ukraine must recognize its responsibilities to the international community, strictly observe the agreements that bear its signature, and must ratify the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol in a genuine, not false, manner. [end recording]

This is how the Russian Government has reacted to the resolution of the Ukrainian Supreme Council and its steps aimed at rousing its leadership to rethink its decisions. The reaction is a natural one, and was predicted by observers.

Ukrainian Envoy Comments

LD2611222693 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] As you know, the Russian Government made a statement in connection with the ratification of the START I treaty by the Ukrainian parliament. Distorting the content and falsifying the data, the Russian side is trying to scare the world community with Ukraine, at the same time disguising its imperial aspirations. Ukrainian diplomacy, albeit somewhat late, made resolute steps to counter the misinformation. During a meeting with Russia's Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Grigoriy Mamedov in Moscow, Ukraine's Ambassador Volodymyr Kryzhanivskyy drew his attention to the importance of removing the reasons for the reservations put forward by Ukraine's Supreme Council.

'Dangerous Breaches' in Ukraine Storage of Nuclear Material

LD2611200493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1325 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov—Continued storage of nuclear ordnance in such conditions in the Ukraine is absolutely impermissible. In order to avert a disaster, every step must be taken to immediately remove nuclear ordnance for dismantling and destruction in Russia, according to a statement made by directors of Russian federal nuclear centers, academicians, and chief nuclear weapon designers and forwarded today to ITAR-TASS.

The specialists say that recent checks on the state of nuclear weapons on Ukrainian territory uncovered a series of dangerous breaches of the rules: Storage facilities over-filled with nuclear weapons on the highest state of readiness; the absence of systematic technical maintenance of nuclear weapons; tardy replacement of parts whose guarantee has expired and that have lost their functionality; failure to observe transportation rules; conduct of repairs and checks not provided in documentation on missile systems carrying nuclear warheads. The specialists stress that the situation is made worse by substandard guarding of nuclear ordnance, and the collapse in Ukraine of the strict system for use and security of nuclear weapons that existed in the USSR and still operates in Russia.

Certain politicians are misleading the public when they say that nuclear weapons can be dismantled in Ukraine, the representatives of Russia's nuclear industry say. We know that Ukraine has neither the expertise nor the industrial facilities to dismantle them. Foreign expertise cannot be relied on to dismantle nuclear weapons made at Russian factories. No professional person will attempt to dissemble a nuclear weapon designed in a foreign country using unknown technology. Nuclear weapons can only be safely taken apart at the factories that made them.

Ukraine Urged To Transfer Weapons

LD2611131493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1255 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—A group of Russian leading nuclear scientists and designers urged Ukraine to immediately transfer its nuclear charges to Russia for dismantling and denounced allegations that Ukraine can dismantle the warheads itself.

"It is completely inadmissible to further keep nuclear charges in conditions created in Ukraine. It is necessary to avert a possible catastrophe and do everything possible to adopt the only correct decision on an immediate transfer of nuclear ammunition to Russia for dismantling and elimination", directors of Russian federal nuclear centres, chief designers of nuclear weapons, academicians said in a statement received by TASS on Friday.

They warned that the recent checks had revealed that Ukrainian dumps are overfilled with nuclear charges which are in the highest state of combat readiness. The weapons do not undergo regular maintenance, their outdated parts are not timely replaced, transportation rules are violated.

"Unauthorised repair and test work is being carried out on missile complexes with mounted nuclear warheads" in Ukraine, the scientists said and warned that the warheads have no up-to-date safety systems.

"The strict system of maintaining and ensuring safety of nuclear weapons, which existed in the former USSR and exists in Russia, has collapsed in Ukraine", the statement stressed.

The scientists qualified as deception Ukrainian statements that nuclear charges can be dismantled in the country.

"We know that Ukraine has neither experts of the necessary qualification, nor the facilities for dismantling the weapons. It is lightminded to count on foreign experts who would dismantle Russian-made charges. No professional would agree to dismantle a nuclear charge designed in another country according to a technology unknown to him", the scientists said, adding that the charges can be dismantled only on those Russian plants which produced them.

Kozyrev Suggests Economic Sanctions Against Armenia

MK2611121093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 4

[Dmitriy Kamyshev report: "Armenia Responds to Russia. Moscow May Impose Sanctions on Yerevan"]

[Excerpts] Armenian Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan arrived in Moscow yesterday on a one-day visit to discuss a number of matters relating to bilateral cooperation with members of the Russian Government. The recent incident on the Armenian-Azerbaijani border, however, may have seriously hampered Yerevan's efforts to get further economic assistance from Russia. Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said yesterday that he did not rule out the possibility of imposing economic sanctions on Armenia. [passage omitted]

The Armenian Government agreed to apologize, but only after a competent commission investigated the incident and concluded that the Armenian side was responsible. Meanwhile, Azerbaijan and Turkey were quick to exploit the occasion for heaping harsh criticisms on Yerevan's stance on a Karabakh settlement. According to the Turkish Foreign Ministry, the border incident is "yet more proof of the lawlessness" perpetrated by Armenia. Some Azerbaijani diplomats even said that the Yerevan authorities can no longer be viewed as a serious partner in negotiations.

It is worth noting that Andrey Kozyrev's harsh tone with regard to Russia's most reliable partner in the Transcaucasus was in fact unprecedented. It is unlikely, however, to mark a change of course: The electoral campaign requires that Andrey Kozyrev keep up the image of an advocate of Russians living outside Russia.

Armenia's Refusal To Apologize for Shooting Pondered

PM2611172993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Leonid Mlechin report: "Armenia Refuses To Apologize to Russia Because Nagorno-Karabakh Does Not Yet Need Peace"]

[Text] Why does Armenia refuse to apologize for the fact that Armenian soldiers fired on vehicles one of which was carrying the Russian president's representative—Ambassador Vladimir Kazimirov, who has been tackling the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh for over a year?

Moscow, it would appear, is indignant less over the actual fact of the shelling than over the fact that Yerevan is unwilling to tender apologies for it. If Armenian spokesmen had immediately confessed their fault, Moscow would have deemed the incident closed.

Russian diplomats have not a shadow of a doubt that the convoy accompanying Ambassador Kazimirov's car and guarded by Azerbaijani troops was fired on by Armenian soldiers. The convoy was expected, and at first light was methodically shelled from automatic weapons, a "Shilka" antiaircraft gun, and a grenade launcher.

Why did the military fire? Were the Armenian authorities simply unable to warn them? A doubtful explanation: Armenian troops are organized and disciplined, and the arrival of a representative of the Russian president is too big an event for all the necessary measures not to be taken.

Another explanation is more likely: Yerevan did not want Ambassador Kazimirov to take this road. And he did not manage to take it. Armenia, which is living as if in a fortress under siege, is making a desperate display of its strength and its intransigence, with regard to not only foes, but friends as well.

All this year Karabakh Armenians have been scoring victory after victory. Stepanakert and Yerevan probably expect military fortune to remain with the Armenians for the foreseeable future also. Consequently, Russian diplomats are in fact simply not wanted in Nagorno-Karabakh for the time being. This is the conclusion which could be drawn in Moscow from Armenia's unwillingness to apologize.

As Clausewitz said, war has its own grammar, but has no logic. Logic is provided by politics. Politics are renounced only by those who intend to totally annihilate their adversary.

Even the worst hotheads in Nagorno-Karabakh scarcely see this as their aim. The strategy of the Karabakh Armenians is reminiscent of the Israeli strategy of "land for peace." Nagorno-Karabakh is prepared to release occupied Azerbaijani regions in exchange for recognition of its independence. In the context of this logic it seems that the more Azerbaijani territory the Karabakh Army manages to seize, the easier it will be to reach agreement with Baku later. Especially since, Armenians believe, there is not yet a strong partner with whom agreement can be reached. President Geydar Aliyev is still not in full control of the Army and the country, and consequently is not prepared for serious compromise.

But Yerevan and Stepanakert should take account of the experience of the Near East settlement: A compromise is

possible only between partners who are equal in strength. Egypt signed peace with Israel after it had managed to put up respectable opposition to it during the 1973 campaign. The PLO recognized Israel after the Jewish state proved unable to cope with the intifadah—the uprising of Arabs on the occupied territories.

The thrill of battle which the Karabakh Armenians have been experiencing recently is harmful to their political goals. Defeat after defeat only intensifies hatred among Azeris. The incident involving the Russian diplomat engenders anti-Armenian feelings in Russian society.

IZVESTIYA's correspondent Sergey Bablumyan reports from Yerevan that the Armenian Military Prosecutor's Office has begun an investigation. If the culprits are established, they will be punished, President Levon Ter-Petrosyan stated.

Filatov Says U.S. Visit 'Substantive, Frutiful'

LD2711090093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0834 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Romantsov]

[Text] New York November 27 TASS—Head of the Russian president's office Sergey Filatov called his visit to the United States as substantive and fruitful. He departed for home on Friday [26 November] after his visits to Washington and New York.

Filatov, on the final day of his visit, met President of the New York Federal Reserve Board William MacDona, was at the New York Stock Exchange and inspected the reserve's gold bullion depository. He had a meeting with U.N. Under-secretary-general Melissa Wells.

In an interview with ITAR-TASS on the last day of his stay on American soil, Yeltsin's top aide noted that the president of the New York Federal Reserve Board unequivocally supported Yeltsin's programme, as was the case with all previous meetings.

The American side stressed the desire to cooperate with Russia and to promote the implementation of its deep-going reforms.

Speaking about his visit to the New York Stock Exchange, Filatov said that it reflects the real life of the American market. During his visit to the U.N. Headquarters, he was interested in the contribution of Russian staff members to the work of this organisation.

While touring the complex of U.N. buildings, Filatov paid attention to the architecture and the lay-out of premises, since this experience and solutions may be useful for erecting a new building of a Russian parliament.

Filatov said that the general impression from his visit is that the United States is fully and really sympathetic with all measures taken by the Russian leadership to establish a new Russia.

Americans are, indeed, breaking ice still binding our relations to some extent. This conclusion is corroborated by meetings with U.S. Pesident Bill Clinton, Vice-president Albert Gore and other top executives of the U.S. Administration.

All the meetings focused on two issues: preparations for the Russian visits by Clinton and Gore as well as Russia's preparations for the parliamentary elections and the constitutional referendum on December 12.

Many understandings were reached on the first issue. They provide for signing important documents in Moscow. There are plans for trips by American businessmen to Moscow.

An understanding was reached on hammering out a joint programme for cooperation between the two parliaments as well as on setting up a research centre at the Russian parliament. The U.S. Congress has already such a centre which is successfully operating.

The American side treated with satisfaction and understanding the two main tasks facing Russia now: the coming approval by the people of a new constitution and the need for unity of democratic forces.

U.S. top executives expressed conviction that the constitution will be approved and Russia will march along the road of changes proclaimed by Yeltsin.

House Committee Chairman Cited on U.S. Intelligence Aims

PM2911111793 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Ravil Mustafin report under "Secrets of Secret Services" rubric: "How Much Do the Americans Spend on Intelligence?"]

[Text] Following the end of the Cold War the U.S. special services are seeking a new enemy. ITAR-TASS reports that D. Glickman, chairman of the House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, recently stated the need to focus U.S. intelligence community attention on three tasks: preventing the proliferation of mass destruction weapons, assisting in the war against the drugs business, and supporting the U.S. military forces. Of course, it would be the height of naivete to believe that the activities of the U.S. special services will henceforth be confined forever to this framework alone. It is more than obvious that the United States will continue intelligence work also in traditional areas, including the immense post-Soviet area.

At the same time the coincidence between the first two of the tasks mentioned by Glickman and what the Russian Foreign Intelligence Service speaks of as possible spheres of cooperation between the two countries' special services appears, in my view, highly noteworthy. Indeed, the struggle against the drugs mafia and the proliferation of unconventional types of weapons appears very urgent

for both Moscow and Washington and promising from the viewpoint of possible cooperation. Particularly as the first steps in establishing contacts have already been taken.

But how much do the U.S. legislators intend to spend on maintaining their intelligence services? Usually such figures could not be divulged and constituted a state secret. Now too, in adopting a bill on appropriations for the needs of the intelligence services last week, the U.S. Congress has confined itself to announcing just a rough figure—approximately $28 billion. At the same time this most probably relates only to the CIA and NSA budgets. As regards the Defense Intelligence Agency, better known to us by its DIA abbreviation, it will obviously continue to be funded by the Pentagon.

U.S.-Lithuanian Intelligence Cooperation Discussed

LD2711001293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1706 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By diplomatic correspondents Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, Vitaliy Trubetskoy, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[Text] According to information which requires additional verification, Lithuania is stepping up its cooperation with the U.S. in the area of intelligence work against Russia, a senior member of Russia's Foreign Ministry told Interfax.

"Such things happening close to our borders cannot fail to generate natural concern in Moscow," he said.

Nevertheless, the Foreign Ministry official pointed out, Lithuania should not "dramatize" the "obvious fact" that Russia, "like any other normal power," has its interests primarily in the adjoining countries, including Lithuania.

According to the diplomat, the recent statement by President Algirdas Brazauskas as to the unacceptability of some provisions in Russia's new military doctrine "was prompted largely by domestic developments." "Evidently the Lithuanian leadership is trying in this way to justify itself before the opposition for a number of agreements signed with Russia recently and for President Brazauskas's visit to Moscow," he concluded.

Swedish Prime Minister Arrives in Murmansk, Meets Kozyrev

LD2811135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1204 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Murmansk, 28 Nov—Carl Bildt, the Swedish prime minister, arrived at noon in Murmansk. He made a stopover in this Russian polar city on his way to Moscow where he is going at the invitation of the "Strategy" [Strategiya] international center.

At the airport, Carl Bildt answered some questions from the journalists. He said that the aim of his present visit to Moscow is to study how the democratic parliamentary elections are being organized in Russia. The prime minister noted that the second task is to discuss cooperation between Sweden and Russia with Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is now in Murmansk.

Answering the questions of ITAR-TASS correspondents, Kozyrev, in his turn, said that he intends to discuss above all with Bildt the problems of bilateral cooperation—the general problems concerning both Russia and Sweden as well as the problems connected with the interests of the northern regions of the two countries.

After short sightseeing tour of the city, a working meeting between the Swedish Prime Minister and the head of the Russian diplomacy started.

Meets Local Leaders

LD2811143393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1347 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Murmansk, 28 Nov— Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt, on his way to Moscow, arrived today in Murmansk where he had a meeting with the leaders of the local administration.

Welcoming the Swedish guest, Yevgeniy Komarov, the governor of Murmansk oblast, expressed great pleasure at the opportunity to receive in Murmansk the head of the government of the neighboring state, and noted the dynamic nature of the development of relations between the two countries' northern regions. However, Komarov added, not all the opportunities for such cooperation are being used to their fullest extent. "We have achieved considerable success in economic cooperation," the Murmansk governor pointed out, "and we are ready to transfer this experience over to other spheres of mutually advantageous activity. That is why we intend to discuss with you, Mr. Prime Minister, not only a general program of cooperation, but specific programs as well. First of all, we would like to discuss the question of opening a consulate general and a house of commerce of the Swedish office in Murmansk".

Carl Bildt, speaking prior to the start of his talks with the Murmansk oblast head, stressed that he was most appreciative of the initiative of Andrey Kozyrev, the Russian foreign minister, who had organized his visit to Russia. He said that it provides an opportunity not only to get a better understanding of the changes taking place in Russia, but also to discuss with the leaders of the neighboring region specific programs for developing bilateral relations at a regional level.

Bildt, Kozyrev Leave for Moscow

LD2811181493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1633 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Murmansk, 28 Nov—The second round of working talks between Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt and Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev ended this evening in Murmansk.

"My visit here can be seen as evidence of Sweden's great interest in Russia's northern region," Bildt told journalists after ending his talks with Kozyrev. "I have previously visited Novgorod and St. Petersburg, and now I have also visited Murmansk—which was a region completely closed to foreigners until recently. Economic reform and an open foreign policy are broadening the prospects for the development of Swedish-Russian cooperation."

In turn, Kozyrev, speaking about the importance of cooperation with Sweden, stressed that "regional cooperation is assuming not only a state but an interstate nature." In connection with this, he referred to the importance of the links between Murmansk Oblast and bordering northern provinces of Scandinavian countries.

The Swedish guest went on a tour of the town and visited places of interest in Murmansk.

Kozyrev and Bildt left Murmansk for Moscow late this evening on the Swedish prime minister's plane.

Talks Continue in Moscow

LD2911120893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1115 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—Andrey Kozyrev, Russian Federation minister of foreign affairs, had a working meeting here today with Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt who arrived in the Russian capital yesterday evening from Murmansk.

Carl Bildt is in Russia at the invitation of the "Strategiya" international humanitarian and political science center.

Tudjman Envoy Urges Moscow Support for Croat Initiative

LD2611223993 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] President Tudjman's personal envoy Franjo Greguric met Vitaliy Churkin in Moscow today. One-hour talks between Greguric and Yeltsin's envoy in charge of former Yugoslavia were of a confidential nature and were devoted to the forthcoming meeting in Geneva, convened for 29 November. The meeting is expected to make fresh progress in the settlement of the crisis and in bringing peace to Bosnia-Herzegovina. Apart from Croatia's stand and its approach to resolving the problems of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Greguric presented to Churkin and the Russian side details of President Tudjman's peace initiative and a plan for the integration of the UN protected areas into Croatia's state and legal system.

President Tudjman's envoy appealed to official Moscow to support Zagreb's latest initiative on simultaneous mutual recognition of all former Yugoslav states, as an important step toward establishing a stable peace.

Churkin, in his capacity as President Yeltsin's personal envoy, will take part in the Geneva meeting on Monday [29 November], and Greguric requested that Russia should abandon its demand for the lifting of sanctions against Belgrade. The lifting of sanctions against Serbia would, at the present moment, mean that the Serb armed conquests were being rewarded, Greguric warned Moscow.

Official Says Sanction Against Belgrade 'Pointless'

LD2611233493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The sanctions against Belgrade have become pointless. An indirect testimony to this is the French-German call for suspending them as the process of settlement in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which underlies the stand taken by the European Community, moves forward, a senior member of Russia's Foreign Ministry told INTERFAX.

According to him, on Sunday a special envoy of the Russian president, Deputy Foreign Minister Vitaliy Churkin, is leaving for Geneva, where the presidents of Serbia, Montenegro, and Croatia, and the leaders of the three Bosnian factions are to meet on Monday under the auspices of the European Community. "They will be invited to sign a package of agreements on a settlement in Bosnia- Herzegovina, after which the possibility of gradually suspending sanctions against Belgrade will be raised," the diplomat said.

The European Community's plan, said the foreign ministry official, will be a milestone on the road to resolving the Yugoslav crisis. However, it is unlikely that everything will proceed as its authors envision. "Difficulties are likely to emerge in Geneva, where Bosnian Muslims intend to demand territorial concessions, such as sea outlets, once again. This demand, even if Bosnian Serbs agree to it, will be challenged by the Bosnian Croats. As a result, the peace process might be suspended once again," the diplomat said.

Slovak Defense Minister Meets With Officials

To Get Fighters as Debt Repayment

AU2711175593 Prague CTK in English 1651 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, Nov 25 (CTK)—The Russian Government today agreed that part of its debts to Slovakia

should be paid with army supplies, Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak said today after negotiating with his Russian counterpart Pavel Grachev in Moscow today.

Russia would give Slovakia five MiG-29 fighter planes, spare aircraft parts and several types of ground munition, Andrejcak said. In an interview for the Slovak daily SMENA several days ago, he had said that he would ask Russia for the five planes.

Russian Deputy Defense Minister Boris Gromov, who was present at the talks, added that Slovakia would also receive an MiG-29 training aircraft.

The talks also concerned the training of experts which Slovakia is lacking after the breakup of Czechoslovakia at the beginning of this year. Moscow has undertaken to help Slovakia by training Slovak soldiers at Russian military academies and by building a base for specialist training in Bratislava.

Grachev said that plans for Slovak-Russian military and techno- military cooperation for next year were made more specific. A protocol on cooperation in 1994 is to be signed in Bratislava soon.

Andrejcak arrived today for a two-day visit, his first to Russia. At the end of October he visited Kiev, where he signed an agreement on Slovak-Ukrainian military cooperation.

He flew in to Moscow on a Slovak special TU-154 plane with 4.5 tonnes of humanitarian aid from the Slovak red cross on the initiative of Slovak President Michal Kovac. The consignment of medicines and clothing is destined for the victims of the October unrest in Moscow.

Talks With Grachev

LD2611143993 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] According to Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev, the entry of Slovakia and other Central and East European countries to NATO is their internal affair. He added, however, that Russia's stance regarding this question is negative. Grachev described today's final deliberations in Moscow with Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak as very successful.

Andrejcak described the Russian trip and deliberations in similar terms. He said that the problems we had and the citizens' fears that Hungary had been given priority over Slovakia had now been removed. In this context, he noted that the Russian side had accepted Slovakia's needs and agreed to pay a part of its debt through the supplies of spare parts and military technology.

Andrejcak Comments on Visit

LD2611203693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Excerpts] [Announcer] Even before Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak's first official visit to the Russian capital was over, our Moscow correspondent Jan Smihula asked him about the contents and results of his two-day talks. [passage omitted]

[Begin recording] [Smihula] Following your Moscow deliberations, what progress has been made in solving the problem connected with the idea that part of the Russian debt be paid off through supplies of military technology?

[Andrejcak] Just like in the case of Hungary, Russia is willing to pay a part of its debt owed to Slovakia through supplies of certain special goods, that is surplus Russian goods that we badly need. If we did not take up this opportunity, we would have to buy newly manufactured goods from the same manufacturers—and pay for them.

The delivery of five combat MiG-29 airplanes, which amount to a kind of response to the modernization of the Hungarian Air Force, constitutes a part of such a deal. With a power ratio of two to one, we will be able to feel that, as regards the combat air force, there is an equal security for both Slovakia and Hungary. The agreement, which will open the way for the immediate commencement of these deliveries, will be signed on Monday or Tuesday next week in Bratislava. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Churkin, Andrejcak Discuss NATO

LD2611212493 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Andrejcak met Vitaliy Churkin, Russian first deputy foreign minister, in Moscow today.

Their talks concerned, above all, the security situation in Europe. As Andrejcak stressed, it was hard for Slovakia to imagine a security system on our continent that would not include Russia. In this context, the Russian diplomat touched upon the sensitive issue of Slovakia's membership in NATO. He said that Russia was unable to prohibit us from joining. However, they did not consider this to be the most suitable security guarantee for Slovakia. According to Churkin, we should orientate ourselves toward cooperation within the framework of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council and the Partnership for Peace program.

The Russian first deputy foreign minister noted with alarm Ukraine's effort to become an owner of nuclear weapons. He described this as an extraordinary serious fact that goes beyond Russian-Ukrainian relations. According to Churkin, the international community should oppose the increase in the number of nuclear superpowers.

Yarov Heads Delegation to Slovakia for Cooperation Talks

LD2911122193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Slovak-Russian talks began in Bratislava today. Our correspondent in Slovakia, Aleksandr Somylyn, reports:

[Somylyn] Russia's official delegation is headed by Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov. The talks will focus on the development of cooperation in trade, economy, and science and technology between the two countries, as well as ways for paying the debts of the former Soviet Union. As Yuriy Yarov told a correspondent from the Slovak news agency, there are several options: first, converting the debts into capital stock via joint ventures and joint-stock companies. Second, Russia is prepared to supply Slovakia with some military equipment, on which an accord was reached in principle during Slovak Defense Minister Imrich Anrejcak's visit to Moscow. A joint inter-governmental commission for cooperation started meeting for the first time in Bratislava. The Russian half is again headed by Yarov.

It is expected that on Monday a protocol on supplying military equipment will be signed, while on Tuesday the commission will set out the other directions of our trade and economic relations in an official document. A large group of leaders of Russia's largest associations and enterprises have gone to the Slovak capital along with Yarov. The time has come to move from agreements on intentions to implementing these intentions. It seems that at last this has been understood in both Bratislava and Moscow, although in both capitals too much effort and energy is being spent on conducting a political fight. The economy requires dynamic and specific cooperation, thus we will hope that the present talks will go beyond good wishes and reciprocal promises and will mark the beginning of effective business links. We have something to offer each other.

Russian Firms, MVD To Participate in Budapest Arms Show

PM2611135593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 4

["Own Information" report under the "Exhibitions" rubric: "Budapest Rendezvous"]

[Text] The first Central European exhibition of armaments and aircraft will be held in Budapest 24-27 November. It will involve defense complex enterprises, plants, and firms from 45 countries all over the world. They include big names like Oerlikon (Germany), General Dynamics (the United States), and Saab (Sweden).

The Russian defense industry will also be represented in Budapest. Representatives of some 200 plants will be going there. Including the plants in Tula, Izhevsk, Kolomna, and Kovrov, the "Karat" and "Bazalt" Concerns, and the MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs]. Developments of the last three or four years, many of which will be on public display for the first time, will make up the bulk of the exhibition. In particular, the MVD will be demonstrating a fountain pen pistol with a set of cartridges, a bullet-proof vest with temperature control, and the "Nyrok" night-vision goggles. The Tula Instrument Making Design Bureau will be offering a collapsible submachine gun weighing 2.2 kg with loaded magazine.

Kozyrev Informs Polish Counterpart of Military Doctrine

LD2711200793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Potemkin]

[Text] Warsaw, 27 Nov—Andrzej Olechowski, head of the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Poland, has received an official message from Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. The message explains the main provisions of the new military doctrine of the Russian Federation.

The media expresses the opinion that the move will further improve the level of understanding between our states. According to Warsaw diplomatic sources, the fact that the message was sent to the Polish authorities has been highly appreciated by the Polish side.

Patrol Escort Opens Fire on Japanese Schooner

LD2711153493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1333 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Nov—An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at the press service of the Russian border troops today that the crew on a Russian patrol escort had to open fire on a Japanese schooner in the Yuzhno-Kurilskiy Proliv [strait].

This action was taken "in view of the schooner's dangerous manoeuvring and insubordination toward the demands of the border guards in the Russian territorial waters." While the schooner was being detained, its captain was slightly injured. He is in the hospital in the settlement of Malokurilsk.

DPRK Premier's Visit to China Examined

SK2911115893 Moscow Radio Moscow in Korean 1000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Commenatary by (Valeriy Sunikov) from the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] Kang Song-san, premier of the DPRK State Administration Council, will pay an official visit to China in early December. During his visit to Beijing, he will discuss the situation on the Korean peninsula in

connection with the DPRK's position on the nuclear issue. Station commentator (Valeriy Sunikov) writes as follows:

China and the ROK established diplomatic relations in August 1992. Since then, contacts between Pyongyang and its traditional trade and military partner, China, have continued.

The problem of expanding economic cooperation between the DPRK and China will be discussed in the Beijing talks. The high-ranking Pyongyang official will inquire about the positions of the ROK and U.S. Presidents. Chinese President Jiang Zemin recently met them in Seattle. Premier Kang Song-san will try to find out through Jiang Zemin whether the United Nations will impose any sanctions on the DPRK.

The DPRK issued a statement last March concerning its decision to withdraw from the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty, and refused to allow the International Atomic Energy Agency to inspect its nuclear sites. This gave rise to the idea of sanctions against the DPRK.

Pyongyang is well aware that China can still exercise its right of veto at the UN Security Council. Thus, the issue concerning sanctions against the DPRK is still up in the air.

At this juncture, Premier Kang Song-san's visit to China may be mainly aimed at the fact that when the United Nations discusses the issues concerning the nuclear issue, China should exercise its right of veto against the UN sanctions on the DPRK.

The Chinese representative has so far objected to the UN Security Council's sanctions against the DPRK. China has appealed to the world community to resolve the Korean peninsula's nuclear issue through diplomatic means.

This is right. In particular, the issue concerning a country possessing nuclear means should be resolved through diplomatic methods. It is natural for China to look at this method.

At a meeting with ROK Foreign Minister Han Sung-chu in Beijing at the end of October, Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen declared that the issue concerning sanctions against the DPRK should be very carefully handled.

Pyongyang pins its hopes on the DPRK Government delegation's China visit. This is because the result of its visit to China will have a great impact on the issue concerning peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and all of Southeast Asia.

ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI Interviews Vietnamese Foreign Minister

PM2611120593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam by Igor Slukhanov; place and date not given: "Factors Which Bring Russia and Vietnam Closer—Socialist Republic of Vietnam Foreign Minister Nguyen Manh Cam Spent Time in Moscow on an Official Visit Recently. ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI's Correspondent Met With Him"]

[Text] [Slukhanov] Minister, en route to Moscow you visited a number of other countries which were previously part of the USSR. What is the aim of your current trip? Are you satisfied with the meetings which have taken place?

[Nguyen Manh Cam] The aim of my trip is to contribute to the matter of supporting and developing traditional relations between Vietnam and the Russian Federation, as well as other countries once part of the former Soviet Union. En route to Moscow I visited Ukraine and the Republic of Belarus. Conversations took place with the leaders and foreign ministers of these countries. We confirmed a mutual interest in and reciprocal aspiration for the further reinforcement and development of our cooperation in various spheres. And we have every opportunity to do this. We outlined new ways and forms of cooperation, primarily in the economic, trade, and scientific and technical spheres, and according to new terms. I am satisfied with the results of the trip to Kiev and Minsk.

[Slukhanov] The Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the former Soviet Union were bound for many years by strong bonds of cooperation. But how are political, economic, and cultural relations between Vietnam and those new independent states which have emerged on the territory of the former USSR, and especially with Russia, having become the USSR's rightful successor, shaping up now?

[Nguyen Manh Cam] You are right. In the recent past relations between our countries were very good. We were linked by close ties in the sphere of political, economic, and cultural cooperation... Now the situation in our countries, and in the world as a whole, has changed drastically. As you know, we have already recognized all the new independent states located on the territory of the former Soviet Union, and we have established diplomatic relations with them and opened embassies in certain capitals. We have always spoken out in favor of preserving and developing on new terms everything which was best in our traditional relations. We are convinced that this is a mutual desire, because it meets the interests of each of our countries.

[Slukhanov] In decades past, many industrial facilities were constructed in Vietnam within the context of technical assistance from the USSR. Thousands of Soviet experts

worked in your country. Are these business contacts between Vietnam, Russia, and other former USSR republics continuing? Are there problems with operating and maintaining equipment manufactured in our country and supplied to Vietnam at various times? What happened to the Soviet experts who worked in Vietnam?

[Nguyen Manh Cam] Business contacts are continuing between Vietnam and Russia, and also other new states, although, by dint of existing, tangible difficulties, not on the same scale nor at the same level as before. But, as I have already said, we are trying to preserve and develop them according to new principles—those of equality and mutual benefit. So, cooperation can only come about in the interests of each partner. As for the Soviet experts who worked in Vietnam but who have already returned to their homeland, we will always feel a real sense of gratitude toward them for the help and assistance they gave us in the past. We wish them, with all our heart, health, prosperity, and happiness.

[Slukhanov] Minister, many of your fellow citizens worked in Soviet enterprises and studied at Soviet higher educational institutes. Quite recently, in the most diverse of Russia's cities, many conflicts linked with Vietnamese citizens have emerged. Some of them did not want to go back to their own country at all. How do things stand now?

[Nguyen Manh Cam] Our scientific workers, students, and workers came here to study and work in line with intergovernmental agreements. When their time came to an end, many of them, in accordance with their own wishes, stayed here to perfect their knowledge and their skill. Some started to get involved in entrepreneurial activity. It has to be said that those people who work fruitfully within the framework of the procedure set by law are making their contribution to the process of economic reforms in Russia, and in this way furthering trade and economic links between the countries. We can only welcome this. But, unfortunately, because of various circumstances and causes, certain problems concerning the residence of our citizens in Russia are still evident in some places. There are specific instances of violations of local law and public order. Of course, this cannot be condoned, and it has to be combated. Both sides have already met, and will meet again, in order to find ways of resolving these problems. On the whole, we want for our fellow countrymen to be able to study, work, and conduct business here peacefully and safely, within the framework of the law, and in line with the process of reforms within Russia and in its neighboring states.

[Slukhanov] Vietnam and the Soviet Union cooperated very closely in the sphere of defense. Now, when the global confrontation of two blocs is a thing of the past, it is obvious that a reformulation of former concepts is required. In your view, which fields in our relations in the military-political sphere should be emphasized?

[Nguyen Manh Cam] As I have already mentioned, in the light of the profound changes in the world, it is for each state to be receptive to the new conditions, and for them to work out their own new political concepts, to construct an international policy suited to them. At the same time, it is our conviction that the general trend is to strive for peace, security, cooperation, and development. So these problems constitute the areas which should be accentuated in our open foreign policy in relations with all countries of the world community, including Russia, in line with the principles of equality, mutual respect, and mutual benefit.

[Slukhanov] Minister, which, in your view, are the most promising areas of mutually beneficial cooperation upon which the governments of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Russian Federation should concentrate their attention?

[Nguyen Manh Cam] I want to answer this question somewhat more broadly. My trip to Russia on this occasion is the first official visit by a Vietnamese minister of foreign affairs to the Russian Federation. At talks with my colleague, Minister A. Kozyrev, and during conversations with Premier V. Chernomyrdin, Deputy Premier Yu. Yarov, and other leaders of Russian Government ministries and departments, as well as at meetings with representatives of Russia's business circles, interest in and aspirations for the continuation and development of our relations, first and foremost in economic and trade spheres, were expressed on the part of both sides. Our country has a good tradition with Russia, and a good record of cooperation, and now we have a mutual willingness to accord our relations the new fillip of development. I can name the priority areas for cooperation: the development of Vietnam's power resources, including the extraction of oil and gas, and the construction of a hydroelectric power station, and a power transmission line; the cultivation and processing of tropical industrial crops and agricultural produce; and the chemical industry. On the whole, our two countries have enormous potential, huge reserves, and an opportunity to broaden our cooperation. I am convinced that the results of my visit will assist the further development of our, I repeat, traditional relations.

Kuwaiti Defense Minister To Visit for Accord Signing

PM2511124193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Maksim Yusin report: "Russia and Kuwait Prepare To Sign Agreement on Military Cooperation"]

[Text] Kuwaiti Defense Minister 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah will arrive in Moscow Monday [29 November] on a five-day visit. Citing informed sources in the Kuwaiti leadership, Western news agencies report that an agreement on military cooperation between the two countries will be signed during the visit.

Russia has thus achieved an important breakthrough in the region, where lately it has persistently tried to strengthen its positions. The question of military cooperation was a central one during Andrey Kozyrev's tour of Persian Gulf countries in April last year. Several

countries showed interest in the Russian proposal to deliver military hardware and to guarantee security in case of aggression from neighboring states, primarily Iraq. However, no specific agreements were signed either then or in the subsequent months.

Kuwait, which in 1990 saw for itself that it cannot oppose a belligerent neighbor alone, has already concluded treaties on military cooperation with the United States, Britain, and France. Russia will become the UN Security Council's fourth permanent member to guarantee the security and territorial integrity of the emirate, which Baghdad continues to call the "19th Iraqi province."

According to Kuwaiti Defense Ministry reports, the agreement with Russia also envisages the holding of joint naval maneuvers. A Russian diplomat who did not wish to be named confirmed this report, adding that several Pacific Fleet ships had already left Vladivostok and will arrive in the Persian Gulf in mid-December. The maneuvers are scheduled to begin before the end of the year.

People in Smolensk Square [Foreign Ministry's location] refused to comment on the report of the upcoming signing of the military agreement, citing an understanding with the Kuwaitis not to disclose details of the visit ahead of time. According to a Foreign Ministry official, Moscow is pinning "great hopes on military-technical cooperation with Kuwait, which will enable Russia to strengthen its role as a guarantor of security in the region and will give grounds to expect advantageous military contracts."

Defense Agreement Signed

LD2911152693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1446 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, November 29 (TASS)—Russia and Kuwait have signed an agreement on defence cooperation.

The agreement was signed by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev and his visiting Kuwaiti counterpart 'Ali Sabah al-Salim al-Sabah in Moscow on Monday.

During the visit, the Kuwaiti delegation led by 'Ali Sabah al- Salim al-Sabah will tour a military range in Kazakhstan and an air force unit outside Moscow. It will also meet with the Russian military to discuss prospects for military and technical cooperation between the two countries.

Shokhin Visits United Arab Emirates for Talks

Negotiations Held

LD2711152193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1230 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi, 27 Nov—The United Arab Emirates want to develop and increase all-round ties with Russia, with whom they have good and deep relations. Shaykh Hamdan Bin-Zayid Al Nuhayyan, UAE minister of state for foreign affairs, said this in Abu Dhabi after the first round of negotiations with the Russian delegation headed by Aleksandr Shokhin, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation.

Aleksandr Shokhin, who is paying his first visit to this Arab country, arrived in the UAE on Friday [26 November] evening as the head of the representative delegation. Negotiations between Russia and the United Arab Emirates on economic cooperation between the two countries started today in a presidential palace in Abu Dhabi. The United Arab Emirates delegation is headed by Shaykh Hamdan Bin-Zayid Al Nuhayyan. The negotiations will continue in the afternoon.

The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of Russia will deliver an oral message from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to UAE Pesident Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan Al Nuhayyan. In a conversation with an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Aleksandr Shokhin said that during his meetings with United Arab Emirates officials a wide range of questions concerning bilateral cooperation will be discussed.

Seeks New Export Markets

LD2811201993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1940 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi November 28 TASS—Visiting Russian Vice-Prime Minister Aleksandr Shokhin held talks with Hamdan Bin-Zayid Al Nuhayyan, UAE minister of state for foreign affairs, on Sunday [28 November] to discuss bilateral political and economic cooperation.

Shokhin who is in the United Arab Emirates as head of a Russian delegation told ITAR-TASS that his visit is taking place within the context of the Russian foreign policy aimed at creating prerequisites for boosting Russian exports.

He said Moscow which did not pay enough attention to the Arabian countries in the past is seeking to develop mutually beneficial ties with these countries. Shokhin stressed that Russia considers the United Arab Emirates as one of the most promising partners in economic and political cooperation.

"Moscow and Abu Dhabi maintain intensive contacts and conduct a political dialogue in which Russia is using a comprehensive approach towards solving political and economic questions of bilateral cooperation," the vice-prime minister said.

The delegation is expected to return to Moscow upon the completion of talks on Monday.

Discusses Economic Orientation of Foreign Policy

LD2911143493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1308 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Lebedev]

[Text] Abu Dhabi November 29 TASS—"Russian foreign policy is becoming more pragmatic. While ensuring the country's political goals, its main orientation is the solution of Russia's economic problems. Such a policy is more reliable and serves both economic and political purposes," Deputy Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers Aleksandr Shokhin told ITAR-TASS in Abu Dhabi.

The Russian vice-premier, who was completing negotiations with officials in the capital of the United Arab Emirates on Monday, said Russia's leadership is taking active steps toward helping exporters market their goods abroad, recieving foreign capital, and attracting foreign investment directly into the Russian economy.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin and other members of the government have been working to obtain an undiscriminating attitude towards Russian exporters in meetings with the group of seven countries and in negotiations with U.S. and other European leaders. They are doing a lot to ensure that Russian foreign trade organisations and companies are treated no worse than U.S., Japanese, and other businesses. The government has already signed "documents and agreements, which require such an undiscriminating attitude", Shokhin said.

The Russian vice-premier called for the lowering or even temporary removal of export duties on several types of goods which Russia imports, and for credits for Russian exporters for the sake of preserving and widening Russia's position on the world market. Shokhin underlined Moscow's support for reinvesting part of the money earned through sales abroad in other countries' economies. He also stressed Russia's attempts to diversify her foreign economic contacts.

Aviation Industry Scores Success at Dubai-93 Air Show

PM2611134593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 4

[Report by Valentin Rudenko: "The East Is a Delicate Matter, but Russian Aircraft Constructors Have a Chance of Entering the Arab Market"]

[Text] News from Russia and the other CIS countries was shown on Dubai television every day. A few reports on meetings and visits by officials, followed by the blood of innocent victims of ethnic conflict, the gaping sockets of shattered windows in the White House, empty plant workshops, long lines outside stores, and the sullen faces of our compatriots tired of everyone and everything.

Having seen plenty of broadcasts like these, many Western experts did not doubt that Russian aircraft would be an utter failure at the Dubai-93 Airshow, held in the United Arab Emirates 7-11 November this year. And not only Western experts. Even the esteemed newspaper IZVESTIYA, quoting Academician Georgiy Arbatov, wrote on the eve of the airshow that "Russian weaponry is no match for international competition and our producers cannot guarantee its long-term after-sale servicing," so we were apparently taking expensive equipment to the other end of the world without any hope of selling it.

Fortunately, these gloomy predictions were not destined to come true. Russia convincingly demonstrated to the whole world at the Dubai-93 Airshow that, despite its current difficulties, it is still a great aviation power. Our Su-30MK and Su-35 fighter planes, Ka-50 fighter helicopter, Il-96M passenger liner, Tu-204 freight liner, Be-32 aircraft for domestic flights, Mi-26, Ka-32, and Mi-117 helicopters, Su-26, Su-29, and Yak-18 aerobatic aircraft, and others literally captivated the Arab East. They made front page news in newspapers and journals and featured in the most popular television programs.

Test pilots Viktor Pugachev, Anatoliy Kvochur, Magomed Tolboyev, Vyacheslav Averyanov, Yevgeniy Frolov, and their colleagues demonstrated piloting skills, the like of which the Dubai skies had never seen before.

Russian aviation was worthily represented not only on the airfield but also in the exhibition halls. Interesting exhibitions were mounted by the Moscow Aircraft Production Association, the "Yak" Aviation Corporation, the "Rostvertol" Joint-Stock Company, and other aircraft firms.

"We regard the United Arab Emirates—and other countries in the Persian Gulf as well—as serious partners," Vladimir Kuzmin, general director of the Moscow Aircraft Production Association, said.

It is well known that the Moscow Aircraft Production Association is the main producer of one of the best fighter planes in the world, the MiG-29. Although this aircraft did not take part in the Dubai-93 Airshow, interest in it was considerable. The fighter plane has a number of indisputable advantages over its foreign counterparts, price included.

It must be said that Western firms are very jealous of our taking part in international airshows. The nerves of some are giving way in the fierce competition and they are no longer playing by the rules. Remember the recent airshow at Farnborough, for example, when, for "incomprehensible" reasons, the "Kamov" Firm's pilots and engineers were only issued with entry visas toward the end of the airshow, which meant that the new Ka-50 fighter helicopter could not take part in the demonstration flights. The Dubai-93 Airshow was not without incident either. Steve Stileanudis, president of Group Vector Incorporated, circulated a press release in which he poured scorn on our helicopter. To the credit of those taking part in the airshow, they soon saw through this spiteful critic and did not take his fraudulent claims seriously.

Without any doubt, the Ka-50 was one of the stars of the Dubai-93 Airshow. In competition with the United States' well-known AH-64 Apache, which has begun to go into operation in the United Arab Emirates Army, our helicopter clearly came out on top. We learned from a conversation with Sergey Mikheyev, general designer at "Kamov," that a number of countries in the Persian Gulf are interested in our fighter helicopter and intend to continue negotiations with the object of buying it.

Why not conclude a contract right there at the airshow, you may ask? Because serious business is not done on impulse. As Mikhail Nagibin, general director of the "Rostvertol" Joint-Stock Company, rightly pointed out, both they and we must weigh up all the pros and cons and discuss and interpret everything before making a final decision. In his opinion, it will take several months.

Incidentally, many of our aircraft and helicopters did not fly home after the Dubai-93 Airshow, but set off on a tour of the Arab East at the invitation of foreign firms. This in itself is convincing evidence of the great interest in our equipment.

Approval of UN Sanctions Against Libya Supported

PM2611124393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[Pavel Vasilyev "Commentary": "The Pot Calling the Kettle Black: Russian Foreign Ministry Supports UN Security Council Resolution on Libya"]

[Text] As already reported, on 11 November the Security Council adopted Resolution 883, which toughens the sanctions already imposed on Libya for its unwillingness to cooperate with the law in clarifying the circumstances of the explosions which destroyed a U.S. Pan Am airliner and an aircraft belonging to the French airline UTA, which resulted in the death of 440 people from 31 countries. The world community's latest decision has produced differing reactions in the Russian press. In particular, there are conflicting opinions being expressed about whether Russia's representative was right to vote in favor of resolution 883, which is claimed to be to the detriment of Russia's national interests.

How true is this assertion? In reply to that question the Russian Foreign Ministry put forward the following arguments.

Security Council Resolution 731, adopted on the same question back on 31 January 1992, required Libya to cooperate honestly with the judicial organs of the countries investigating the terrorist acts. This move, such an extraordinary one for the United Nations, became necessary when it emerged that after more than three years the Tripoli authorities had done nothing to help clarify all the circumstances of the destruction of the two airliners, including the possible surrender of the suspects to justice. Of course, the Security Council could not tolerate that and on 30 March 1992 was forced to adopt a new resolution which contained recommendations on restricting cooperation with Libya, first and foremost in the military and military-technical spheres and in the sphere of air transport.

The Foreign Ministry acknowledges that these measures hit Russian economic interests hard: Libya was one of the biggest purchasers of our military hardware and the corresponding military specialist services. However, diplomats regard the figure of $8 billion in losses cited in MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI on 21 November, for example, as heavily exaggerated. It may only be $3 billion, which Libya already owed anyway, they believe. Then there is talk about lost profit, which is very difficult to calculate. The following point is also important. The Security Council decisions on Libya proved so painful precisely because we had no "civilian" cooperation with that country in, for example, the industrial or oil refining spheres. Furthermore, you cannot blame it all on the Security Council. The Libyans used the pretext of the confusion surrounding the legal succession to the USSR back in December 1991, that is, even before the adoption of the first resolution which did not even hint at sanctions, to stop repaying their debt to Moscow.

But the effectiveness of the draconian measures is clear to see. In the 18 months since the introduction of sanctions, Tripoli has officially announced the end of the training of Palestinian gunmen on its territory and has begun to cooperate with Britain in the investigation of the terrorist activity of the IRA, which it actively helped in the past. This cannot be ignored, and Russian diplomacy has repeatedly drawn the attention of other members of the world community to it. However, the Security Council's main demand—that the Libyan citizens suspected of involvement in the destruction of the planes be handed over to justice—has not been met. That was the reason for the persistent desire of the "Western trio" (the United States, Britain, and France) to intensify the pressure on Libya.

In recent months, diplomats say, the Russian Foreign Ministry has had doubts about the expediency of the rapid toughening of sanctions against Libya. But when it became clear that the Libyan leadership is still not ready to cooperate with the law, which could have resolved this problem, the main problem for Foreign Ministry officials was this: How to ensure that the damage caused to Russia as a result of the draft prepared by the "trio" is as limited as possible? As a result of stubborn but polite discussions it was decided to include in the text of the resolution provisions protecting Russian interests in the repayment of the Libyan debt. And this despite the fact that as far as other states are concerned financial ties with that country are being curbed.

But overtures have also been made toward Libya. For example, for the first time the agreed draft included a provision on the procedure for lifting sanctions, which demonstrates an intention not to punish Tripoli but simply to force it to comply with the world community's demands. In addition, the new resolution delays the

introduction of additional sanctions until 1 December, thus giving the Libyan leadership an opportunity to review its position before the new restrictions go into effect.

Finally, the Foreign Ministry believes that Russia's principled line did not arouse hostility in Tripoli. It may be said that it was greeted there with understanding. The recognition of Russia as the successor in law to the USSR's debts and the results of the recent visit to that country by Oleg Davydov, minister for foreign economic relations, clearly show Tripoli's intention to preserve and develop bilateral relations including after the lifting of the UN sanctions. In the diplomats' opinion, the only obstacle to the normalization of our relations is Libya's nonfulfillment of the world community's demand on effective cooperation in investigating the circumstances of the destruction of the U.S. and French planes and the surrender of the suspects to justice.

On Smolensk Square the view is that the arguments about the desire of Russian diplomacy to follow in the wake of Western countries to the detriment of our national interests is nothing other than a political ploy designed to discredit the actions of the present Foreign Ministry leadership and score points in the battle for places on the political Olympus.

Chechnya, Jordan Protest to Foreign Ministry

PM2911105193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by correspondent Aleksandr Yevtushenko: "Two Notes of Military March?"]

[Text] It has been reported from Groznyy that the Chechnya and Jordan foreign ministers have lodged a protest with the Russian Foreign Ministry against Moscow's interference in these two states' internal affairs. This step was a response to the protest note sent by the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry to the Jordan Embassy in connection with that country's official reception of President Dudayev as the head of the sovereign Chechen Republic.

Indeed. Chechnya, according to existing Russian legislation, is a component part of the Federation. It has also been accorded this status in the draft of the new constitution submitted for the referendum. It is true that the Chechnya parliament has made an official statement on the subject. Whatever decisions Russia may make, the statement says, the Chechen Republic has nothing to do with them and does not intend to return to the Federation. According to Moldovan Press Minister Udugov, Groznyy has intelligence information about how Moscow is preparing strong-arm action against the rebellious republic early next year. So far it is hard to judge how reliable this information is. But the concentration of military subunits in republics next to Chechnya can be seen clearly. It is entirely possible they will be brought into action when the new constitution becomes law.

Grachev Meets Cuban Military Delegation

LD2711100793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0935 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Gondusov]

[Text] Moscow, 27 Nov—Army General Pavel Grachev, minister of defense of the Russian Federation, exchanged opinions with a delegation of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of the Republic of Cuba on a broad range of military and technical problems in the context of present-day realities. The delegation is headed by Division General Julio Casas Regueiro, first deputy minister of defense.

Pavel Grachev expressed confidence that he would visit Cuba next year without fail, having noted that this visit was planned for October but was postponed because of the dramatic events in Moscow.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Approves Interim Parliament Administration

LD2611113693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1110 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—President Boris Yeltsin approved of interim provisions for the administration of the new Russian Parliament which will be in force until the new legislature adopts its own document.

The administration will include secretariats of both chambers, an information and technological department, the secretariat of the head of the staff of the Federal Assembly, a press service and other offices.

The staff of the administration is to be employed before parliamentary elections.

Yeltsin Meets With Acting Constitutional Court Chairman

LD2611154793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1419 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—A meeting took place today between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and acting Constitutional Court Chairman Nikolay Vitruk.

The press service of the head of the Russian state said that the president stressed during the conversation the importance of the Constitutional Court as an important institution of democracy and for shaping a law-based state. One of the main tasks of the Constitutional Court should be to affirm the highest respect for the Constitution and for constitutional law and order.

The president was informed about the drafting of the federal constitutional law on the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation. Particular interest was shown in the guarantees ensuring that politics would be excluded from the actions of the Constitutional Court. The president expressed confidence that the prestige of the Constitutional Court as an organ of justice would be restored in the future.

Constitutional Court To Discuss Zorkin's Resignation

LD2911141093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1125 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Constitutional Court judge Valeriy Zorkin must step down, believes the court's acting chairman Nikolay Vitruk. He made this statement to reporters on Monday, the same day Zorkin resumed work after an illness.

Nikolay Vitruk, as well as other court judges; Ernest Ametistov, Tamara Morshchakova, Vladimir Oleinik and Anatoliy Kononov repeatedly demanded Zorkin's resignation.

If the former chairman of the Constitutional Court stays, the court will be unable to work, said Vitruk.

Sources have told INTERFAX that the Constitutional Court judges are to meet November 30 to discuss Zorkin's resignation.

Zorkin To Return as Member

PM2911110793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Vasiliy Golovin: " 'Private Zorkin Back from Leave!'"]

[Text] On 29 November Vaerliy Zorkin, former chairman of the Constitutional Court, goes to work as an ordinary member of the Supreme Court. It is true this is on condition the doctors consider his state of health to be satisfactory. For the time being his office at 21, Ilyanka Street, is sealed. Nikolay Vitruk, the main critic of Zorkin and his privileges, who is acting chairman of the Constitutional court, is traveling in an official ZIL. Incidentally, Zorkin himself only used a "Volga" and only during the busy days in September and October was he obliged for the sake of reliability to switch to a ZIL.

In a recent talk with journalists Nikolay Vitruk on behalf of five Constitutional Court members insisting on Zorkin's dismissal stated that that was not all, if Zorkin returns to the court, they will resign. "It is either us or him."

As we know, Monday is a hard day. What mob law will the five pass on that day?

Yeltsin Issues Edict on Property of Former Soviets

LD2611210193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1659 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin decreed on Friday [26 November] that all property of former local soviets, including their buildings, should be fully transferred to newly elected legislatures.

The decree prohibited to change the number of employees and the structure of the administration of former soviets until a new legislature begins to work, the presidential press service said.

New Human Rights Movement To Urge Yeltsin Resignation

LD2711172693 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1630 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] The constituent conference of the Movement for Democracy and Human Rights in Russia was held in the Russian capital today. According to agencies' reports, the main aim of the movement is to conduct an objective investigation into—here I quote from the POST-FACTUM agency—the coup d'etat and the killing of Russian citizens on 4 October. Participants in the movement intend to press for the resignation of the president for breaking the oath of allegiance to the constitution; they will also press for the convocation of a democratically elected body to draft a new constitution.

Yeltsin Legal Adviser on Law, Constitution

MK2711111093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Interview with Aleksandr Kotenkov, head of the State Legal Directorate (GPU), by POSTFACTUM's Lyudmila Sherova, "Specially for NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA," in the "Power" column: "He Has the 'Law Code of the Russian Empire' at Hand. GPU Chief Aleksandr Kotenkov Thinks There Is Little Sympathy for His Department"]

[Text] [Sherova] What matters does the State Legal Directorate under the presidential administration deal with?

[Kotenkov] You should have asked something easier. In theory, under the president's edict, the GPU provides the legal basis for activity by the president, the government, and the Security Council. On presidential instructions we are to prepare draft edicts, and on the government's instructions, draft resolutions and orders. In addition, we provide legal appraisal of all drafts submitted to the president and the government for signing and improve them if necessary. A GPU endorsement on a document means that this document corresponds to the law.

We also have a unique collection of Russian legislative enactments beginning with 1856. I always keep "The Code of Laws of the Russian Empire" within reach. It is a very interesting book and it also shows that our legislation has not been all bad after all.

[Sherova] Do all documents get a GPU endorsement?

[Kotenkov] Not at all. In some situations the president is entitled to make his own decision. We may not give our endorsement but this will not be an obstacle to its adoption. By refusing to endorse, we point to a deviation from the current laws. The GPU is disliked for this.

[Sherova] Did you endorse Presidential Edict 1400 of 21 September 1993?

[Kotenkov] No, and neither did I see it before it was promulgated. Since you are bound to ask about the legal appraisal of this edict, I will tell you this: Had I seen it earlier, I would have tried to formulate it differently because that edict was a forced measure.

[Sherova] They say that you blocked an edict on demolishing the Mausoleum.

[Kotenkov] A document called "On Restoring the Historical Appearance of Red Square" ended up on my desk. I do not care where Ulyanov lies, but does our state have no other problems in the run- up to elections than a funeral? Moreover, I asked the document's authors which historical appearance of Red Square they were planning to restore—as it existed prior to the 17th century, the 16th, or the 15th? If we talk about its historical appearance, then the Kremlin will have to be pulled down, the territory planted with trees, and a small swamp made. The square's historical appearance has constantly changed. What we have today is also historical and we are accustomed to it. I do not understand why this is necessary or who needs it.

According to Christian traditions, Ulyanov should of course be buried and the Mausoleum turned into a museum, but why destroy it?

[Sherova] Which of the most well-known documents did the GPU prepare on its own?

[Kotenkov] One of the most prominent ones is the draft constitution. The main work on its preparation was done in the GPU. Among the most conceptual [kontseptual-nyye] ones I would mention the edict "On Bankruptcy."

[Sherova] They say that the names GPU and PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] were devised by you?

[Kotenkov] No, this is an exaggeration. GPU was devised by Sergey Shakhray. True, I was involved in developing its concept and structure. But I was never concerned about how its abbreviation would sound. Indeed, I was also among the PRES founders, together with Shakhray. That was back in 1990 when we, assessing the situation, came to the conclusion that 1990 was not as yet a victory for democracy and understood that it was necessary to get ready for another spiral in the power struggle.

[Sherova] But why is your name not on the PRES' federal slate?

[Kotenkov] I did not want that, first, because former people's deputies must reduce to a minimum their presence in the new parliament so as not to put the stamp of their bitter experience on it.

Second, my role in the presidential administration is hard and unrewarding because no one likes it when his actions are deemed not corresponding to the law, even if it is added that this person may act so. I must remain in my post because I am not sure that somebody else can do this. I have a firm conviction that someone must have the courage to say what is legal and what is not. There should be such a mechanism or such a person in the state. As long as I can do it, I must be at my work place.

Third, my colleagues. It is a very complex collective—approximately 200 people in all. There are no well-known jurists who appear on TV among them. But all of them are highly qualified specialists (six doctors of law and 34 candidates of law). They are committed to the idea of statehood. Today we sometimes lose our cadres because the money they are paid can make you laugh and cry and the same time. The documents that we process, provided the technology [as published] of the process is maintained, come out legally pure. Unfortunately, quite often we are faxed a draft and asked to return it 15 minutes later with an endorsement. In this event I do not even have the time to ask for a memorandum on what we have with respect to the particular question.

[Sherova] And do you often give your endorsement in such cases?

[Kotenkov] Sometimes I have to. If a document is apparently normal and if there are no glaring contradictions, but it is even worse when a boss comes along and asks for an immediate endorsement. Sometimes they do not even allow an obvious mistake to be corrected.

[Sherova] Is such haste really necessary? After all, any document, even a historic one, may come out a day later and nothing will happen.

[Kotenkov] You are absolutely right. Especially given that a strange situation has developed at present. That document, on which they urgently demanded my endorsement, came out two to three weeks later. It seems to me that this haste covers up certain illegality of such documents.

[Sherova] The constitution on which you have worked is a bulky and serious document. If the voters cannot properly understand it, is it worth adopting it through a referendum?

[Kotenkov] I agree that the average voter cannot fully understand the entire text of the constitution, but at the same time I am convinced that one reason our state is in such a fever is an incomplete legitimacy of the current constitution. The people exercises its power by delegating it to elected bodies. A constitution adopted in a nationwide vote should become the foundation of the state's legitimacy. What matters to me is the maximum legitimacy of this act. There is no higher legitimacy than a referendum. No matter what shortcomings there might be in the constitution, no one will dare disobey it once it has been approved in a referendum.

[Sherova] What can you say about an IZVESTIYA publication about your role in Yakubovksiy's adventures in Moscow?

[Kotenkov] Not everything was quite the way it has been presented. This is a work of art, which presupposes a certain degree of fiction. It also gives a distorted presentation of my conversation with him. Indeed, I spoke with Topol and I told him about my assistance in transporting Yakubovskiy without mentioning other names and agencies that provided help. Moreover, I gave that account hoping for a publication of a book of fiction in 1994 in the United States, but I never agreed to publication in the Russian press.

Soskovets on Constitution

LD2911115393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1035 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By Pavel Ku[illegible]ov]

[Text] Moscow, November 29 (ITAR-TASS)—"If a new constitution had been adopted in good time, it would have been unnecessary to resort to emergency measures in order to protect democracy," First Vice-Premier of the Russian Government Oleg Soskovets said at a regional conference today.

Soskovets noted that the level of civil rights and freedoms and mechanisms for their protection in the new constitution meet modern international standards. The principle of the separation of powers is inherent in the draft and the constitution sets up a reliable barrier to confrontation between the branches of power. But it will take time before we learn to abide by these norms after the constitution is adopted.

Soskovets noted that the constitution "takes into account everything that it should be taken into account". It incorporates a procedure for introducing constitutional amendments. The constitution was worked out to prevent any arbitrariness by the legislature, without hampering further improvement to the fundamental law, which might be prompted by time and experience.

Should the public opinion show a negative attitude to any of the provisions, there exists a legal possibility for amending the constitution: "Since the text of the draft was presented to society by presidential decree, any serious shortfalls, contradictions or shortcomings that may come to light can be changed by another presidential decree".

Soskovets dwelt on debates around "sovereignty". "Sovereignty is vested in the people of Russia as a whole and not in the peoples of separate republics and other component parts of the Russian Federation. The absence of the concept of sovereignty of the primary component parts of the federation in the draft is not included means that it is impossible to legitimately withdraw from Russia. This is most important because prior to the events of September and October a great danger existed that a number of regions and territories could undertake practical steps leading to their secession from the Russian Federation. Under the new draft, this possibility no longer exists and this strengthens the Russian state".

Nonetheless, "contradictions between the centre and the regions have not been fully removed", Soskovets said. "Certain territorial changes, for example, the creation of territorial formations larger than separate regions is not ruled out, and is probably necessary so that greater powers which are now vested in the centre can be transferred to the territories," Soskovets said. The draft constitution does not exclude this possibility. Article 65, which contains a list of component parts of the federation, is included in the part of the constitution which can be changed in accordance with the procedure of adopting a federal constitutional law.

Soskovets called for refraining from "categorical statements as to whether the constitution will establish a presidential, parliamentary or intermediate form of government. It undoubtedly provides for a strong presidential power, but not a "pocket" parliament. A balance of power among the separate branches is ensured by all possible legal checks and balances ", Soskovets said.

Shakhray Predicts Chernomyrdin To Remain Prime Minister

LD2711112493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Predictability, responsibility, and oversight must be returned to politics, Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Unity and Accord, stated at a meeting with voters in Irkutsk. Shakhray also said that it is more important for his party to obtain a majority of votes in next year's elections for republican and kray bodies of representative power than at the elections on 12 December.

Shakhray believes there will be some reshuffling of personnel in the government after 12 December, but Viktor Chernomyrdin will remain prime minister. He should pose the question of confidence in the government at the State Duma in order to get political support.

Official Denies Deputy Premier Jobs To Be Redistributed

LD2611205393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] A senior official of the Russian government who did not want to be named told INTERFAX that no official decisions had been made recently on redistribution of functions among vice premiers. He said that media reports about the redistribution were untrue.

Some periodicals had reported that Aleksandr Shokhin would not supervise cooperation with the International Monetary Fund and other international organizations and that this function would be taken over by another vice premier, Boris Fedorov, who is also the finance minister.

The official said that the government had indeed considered last September several options of redistributing the jobs inside the cabinet to enable it to work more efficiently, but no decision had been made.

Fedorov Confirms New Financial Responsibilities

LD2711213093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Boris Fedorov, Russian deputy prime minister and finance minister, has confirmed that at the present time he is responsible for issues related to the foreign debt and international financial organizations. A press release from the Finance Ministry circulated in Moscow on Saturday says that the orders for this were given by Viktor Chernomyrdin, head of government.

As Interfax reports, this report has been circulated in connection with inquiries about the redistribution of duties among some members of the presidium of the Russian government.

Transfer of Duties Viewed

PM2911114393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Igor Petrov: "Easier for Shokhin But Finances Ministry Gaining Clout"]

[Text] Any reshuffles in the Cabinet of Ministers naturally attract enhanced attention. Behind each of the premier's cadres decisions many "observers" are inclined to see either big-league, that is secret politics or apparatus intrigues.

Behind the recent local redistribution of duties within the Council of Ministers some "experts" immediately detected "underlying contradictions, differences, and even political opposition." In this case what they have in mind is the strengthening of the role of Vice Premier and Finances Minister Boris Fedorov who, by a directive from V. Chernomyrdin, has been put in charge of the coordination of work on problems of the domestic and foreign state debt, the currency policy, and collaboration with international financial organizations and the G-7 countries.

As we know, another vice premier, Aleksandr Shokhin, was until recently responsible for these questions in the government. Now he will have the opportunity to concentrate more fully solely on economic and trade cooperation with countries of nearby foreign parts.

With what is the cutback in th e powers of one vice premier and the expansion of the influence of another linked? I do not think that B. Fedorov, with his tough budget policy and impartial struggle against emission credits to industry, has suddenly become the premier's "blue-eyed boy." More likely the intensification of the Finances Ministry's role is dictated by purely pragmatic reasons. Indeed, what practical point is there in A. SHokhin, on traveling to talks with the IMF on foreign debts, for instance, passing on all the heavy preparatory work to the Finances Ministry and then delaying a decision until consultations with the Finances Ministry. At any rate now all questions connected with the state's finances and collaboration with the tax service and currency control will be concentrated in the same hands. By assuming additional powers the Finances Ministry also assumes additional responsibility.

A. Shokhin himself also agrees with this in principle when in response to an INTERFAX question he noted that he "is in favor of all foreign loans going through the Finances Ministry and one department being responsible for the problems of all credits."

Is there a element of truth in this remark? I shall not venture to judge but there is an element of suspicion. The premier's decision is not a political one, still less a party one. It was dictated, it seems to us, primarily by the need to impart a clear organizational basis to financial policy. And the vice premier should not try to win points in the election struggle on this basis.

Edict To Resolve Coal Mining Crisis Awaited

PM2911094593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 93 First Edition pp 1, 2

[Article by Valeriy Konovalov: "Chernomyrdin Found 100 Billion for Miners. Gaydar Is Looking For Trillions and Intends To Visit Vorkuta"]

[Text] An edict of the Russian Federation president is being prepared providing for the allocation of 4 percent of VAT [value-added tax] for the needs of the coal industry.

"As soon as the prime minister returned from his trip abroad he right away resolved the problem over the allocation of 100 billion rubles [R] to ensure the payment of wages to miners for recent months," Yuriy Malyshev, general director of Rosugol [Russian Coal Company], said. "However, wages for the fall period and the Vorkuta conflict are only part of the problem. The entire Russian coal industry is a problem right now."

The Market as a Method of Suicide

The situation in which coal workers find themselves is both characteristic of our economy as a whole, and unique. It can be said definitely that, for the coal industry, transition to the market has been highly painful, not to say murderous. The state held fixed prices on coal longer than on other products, shielding miners from entry into the market. But from 1 July the barriers were removed. Miners' recent demands were granted: to be able to determine release prices autonomously; to have free access to the world market; and to be released from the obligation to sell hard currency proceeds. However, the state kept some obligations for budgetary support, albeit severely reduced, for the sector, as is the custom in many countries. All the same, even relative economic freedom proved too much for miners to cope with. The prices of resources essential to the sector grew much faster than the level of demand for coal. For the first time a situation arose where coal ceased to be in short supply, but demand proved to be heavier than supply. Defaulting on payment on the part of customers increased many times over. This year coal extraction has already declined by 10 percent, but customer defaulting in the four months of working with free prices has increased by just over 300 percent and paralyzed the sector. In addition, the state has failed to fulfill even its reduced commitments—its debts come to more than R300 billion. The increase in railroad transportation charges completely floored the miners, especially those in remote areas like Vorkuta. The sector is on the brink of social explosion and crisis. The cost of producing one tonne of coal is significantly higher (by more than R200) than the price at which it sells.

But Do We Need Coal Anyway?

Coal accounts for 14 percent of Russia's energy consumption, whereas in the United States the figure is 55 percent, in Germany—60 percent, and on the worldwide fuel and energy balance sheet it accounts for 28-30 percent. At the same time the potential and prospects of coal reserves are significantly higher than oil and gas reserves. Hence even unprofitable coal mining is redeemed by its strategic significance. In view of our geographical and financial position, unlike other countries, it is unprofitable to compensate for the slump in production through imports. It is on this basis that the state's coal strategy is determined.

"Rosugol," which was set up in April of this year and employs five doctors of sciences and over 20 candidates of sciences, is elaborating a plan for the optimal exploitation of the sector and ways of transferring it to market relations. Coal mining will be preserved, but on new bases.

There Is No Program for Closing Down Mines; There Are Principles for Rescuing Them

Yuriy Malyshev believes that the current tension in mining collectives is only partially due to economic conditions; the principal explanation lies in political conditions. In his words, the "mining card is being played." Viktor Chernomyrdin also made a statement to this effect the other day. Rumors are being whipped up that the government intends to wind down coal production, throwing tens of thousands of miners onto the street, that a secret mine closure plan is being put into operation. In actual fact, Malyshev said, a document does exist on the principles of rescuing unpromising and especially unprofitable mines and open-cast pits in the Russian coal industry. A government decree will be signed on this subject in the near future.

The first stage of this process is expected to take two or three years, in the course of which mines that have effectively no reserves or will cost less to close than to subsidize will be closed It is planned to close the rest by the year 2000. Only 42 of the 236 mines operating in Russia have been defined as capable of recovery. It must be noted that experience of restructuring the coal industry in a number of foreign countries shows that at the initial stage closing unprofitable enterprises is 1.5 times more expensive than supporting them. In Russia, however, this process will be accompanied by a reduction of production expenditure at other mines which have reserves. In the long term this will lead to a relative reduction in subsidies and to a significant increase in the efficiency of the sector.

What Is Being Done Today

The conflict in the Vorkuta pits is beginning to be resolved. In line with the tariff agreement, R100 billion has already been transferred, allowing wages to be paid to miners for September and October. Incidentally, the average wage of miners in September came to R160,000. But funds owed by the state for social development and the purchase of mine equipment remain unpaid. Miners are also seeking credits for their debtors: The power industry owes them R121 billion and the metals industry R130 billion.

Two trade unions operate in the sector. The Russian Coal Miners' Union recently issued a statement demanding fulfillment of all the terms of the tariff agreement, but at the same time saying: "In view of the election campaign and attempts by individual parties, movements, and personalities to play the mining card, we consider it inappropriate to stage collective actions for the period of the Federal Assembly elections and the formation of the representative organs of power." The Independent Union of Mine Workers is more intransigent and is calling for strikes.

According to Rosugol's estimates, a gradual and relatively painless transition to the market and optimal exploitation of the coal sector will require around R15 trillion next year, allowing for inflation. Where is this money to be found? The Ministry of Finance proposed adding a new 3-percent coal tax onto VAT. At a special conference held yesterday Yegor Gaydar proposed another option: while not increasing the existing rate of VAT, to target 4 percent of the figure toward the coal industry. The relevant instructions to prepare a draft presidential edict on this question have been given to the Ministries of the Economy and Finance. The situation in mining collectives today is such that we will evidently not have to wait long for this edict to be prepared and signed.

And Yuriy Malyshev, general director of Rosugol, has flown to Kemerovo, where he is standing for the Russian Federation Council and where tension in the mines is high. He is confident that the measures that have been projected and are being adopted will help him win the miners' confidence. Yegor Gaydar will fly to Vorkuta 25 November, where he will make public his proposals; he is expecting them to have an impact and to pacify the miners.

In forthcoming issues we will be discussing in detail the lives and problems of miners in Vorkuta.

Soskovets Says Extra Funds Found To Finance Debt to Miners

LD2611213893 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [Announcer] Oleg Soskovets, first deputy prime minister of the government said at a news conference in Moscow today that it was unacceptable that the present situation in Vorkuta should be repeated in any form.

[Begin Soskovets recording] Extra funds have been found to finance the state debt to the mining regions. The Finance Ministry has transferred the money to the commercial banks that serve these regions. Today, the wage debt totals 77 billion rubles. The other, more complex question concerning settlement with our miners is linked with non-payment by consumers in the metallurgical and electric power industries. [end recording]

[Announcer] But this problem is being tackled, Soskovets said. [passage omitted]

Explains Payments to Miners

LD2711205993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1550 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, 27 Nov—As a result of talks held over the last few days between Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets and directors of major enterprises in the national economic complex it has proved possible to establish the sequence of settling accounts between suppliers and consumers of coal. An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told this today by Oleg Soskovets' press secretary Yuriy Mikhaylov.

He said that the Cherepovets metallurgical combine has already transferred 13 billion rubles to the Vorkuta miners. In the next few days the Novolipetskiy metallurgical combine and a number of other enterprises will transfer money to the miners.

According to his press secretary, Oleg Soskovets believes that after clearing the debts to the miners it is essential to take similar steps with regard to mining and metallurgical enterprises. Also, the first deputy prime minister is convinced that the government should bring the situation with payments arrears and debts in industry to a civilized state of affairs, which will undoubtedly make it possible to preserve the vital activity of the whole of Russia's economy.

Strike on Hold Pending Decision

MK2711112093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[POSTFACTUM report under the "In Brief" column: "They Decided Not To Rush About the Strike"]

[Text] Yesterday the executive committee of the Independent Miners Trade Union (IMTU) of Russia canceled its session that was to announce a strike of the miners of Vorkuta and other regions in Russia on 1 December. The IMTU executive committee did not announce the strike in connection with the fact that Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar as well as IMTU Chairman Aleksandr Sergeyev flew to Vorkuta at the miners' invitation. IMTU leaders hope that, following the vice premier's meeting with them, that the government will meet their demands. It that does not happen, the IMTU executive committee will announce a miners strike in the next few days.

Chernomyrdin Urges Payment of Fuel Workers' Back Pay

PM2911131193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Viktor Chernomyrdin: Finding Nontraditional Solution to Fuel Problems"]

[Text] On 25 November Viktor Chernomyrdin, chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers, held a session on problems of Russia's fuel and

energy complex at Staraya Square. It focused attention on energy supplies for the national economy in the winter period.

Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik, who spoke at the session, stated that as of today a "critical situation" is taking shape with regard to energy supplies because of the earlier than usual winter cold and the plight of the complex' sectors as a result of mounting debts owed by customers. He noted the critical financial situation of the coal industry and the drastic reduction of coal stocks which can be observed.

Several mild winters in the past and also the relatively favorable situation in the country's fuel and energy complex over the first 10 months of this year have obviously lulled people, Chernomyrdin noted. The present unusually early and harsh winter has created a critical situation. Stocks of coal and other energy carriers are swiftly melting away. Unless the present dangerous trends are broken then by the start of next year we will have only 60 percent of our coal requirements.

Transport problems have been aggravated, the knot of nonpayments is growing ever tighter, and debts to the fuel and energy complex owed by customers and the state are growing. The payment of wages is being delayed at many fuel and energy complex enterprises, which is creating an explosive situation.

Under these conditions, the prime minister stressed, it is essential drastically to increase the efficiency of the government apparatus' work and the targeting of the decisions which are made, to urgently seek additional funds from nontraditional sources, in particular by making amendments to taxation policy and the accounting system and by granting fuel and energy complex enterprises preferential conditions for selling their output. Viktor Chernomyrdin called the urgent extinguishing of liabilities in the form of wages for fuel and energy complex workers the priority task.

Soskovets Says Fuel, Energy Situation 'Under Control'

PM2611164793 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 1

[Aleksandr Rybakov report under the "In Government" rubric: "Telephone Linkup With Regions That Are Experiencing Difficulties in Supplying the Population and Industry With Heat"]

[Text] As has already been reported, the Government Commission on Operational Questions has examined the difficult situation prevailing in a number of regions in the Far North, Siberia, and the Far East as a result of the sharp worsening of the frosts. Practical measures were taken as a matter of urgency, but to clarify the situation in detail and make an appropriate response to it, First Vice Premier Oleg Soskovets held a telephone conference with leaders of republics, krays, and oblasts. It showed that the situation is difficult.

In the settlement of Deputatskiy in Yakutia, for example, all the vital services have been put out of commmission and homes are without heat in 30 degrees of frost. The coal supply situation has become critical in Maritime, Khabarovsk, and Krasnoyarsk Krays and in Sverdlovsk Oblast. In Novosibirsk and Irkutsk Oblasts there is a shortage of petroleum products. A difficult fuel situation obtains in the Komi Republic and Murmansk Oblast. Whereas in Arkhangelsk and Kemerovo Oblasts the situation is improving.

In most regions the leaders complained of a shortage of resources as a result of reciprocal nonpayment and called on the the Finance Ministry to allocate money.

While acknowledging this reality, Soskovets also urged people to rely more on their own resources. He sharply criticized the Novosibirsk Oblast Administration for failing to make preparation for winter in good time while having considerable fuel stocks available. That also applies to other regions.

Here is what Russia's fuel and energy minister, Yuriy Shafranik, said on the telephone:

"Power stations have consumed twice as much fuel as normal in November alone as a result of the sharp drop in temperature, and overconsumption could total 27 million tonnes by the end of the year, but the Ministry of Fuel and Energy is able to supply the national economic complex with only an extra 14 million tonnes. The rest will have to be found by stringent economy measures."

At the telephone conference a number of comments were directed at railroad workers. The Minister of Railways responded as follows.

"We have over 100,000 railcars and 1,000 locomotives in good condition standing in reserve. Every region has empty freight cars, it is matter of loading them up."

Gennadiy Fadeyev reported that the 23 November session of the Russian Federation Government Commission on Operational Questions approved the agreed timetable for shipment of coal and fuel oil. At the same time he drew the attention of the participants in the conference to the fact that around 2,800 freight cars of coal are still waiting to be unloaded in the Far East.

Summing up the results of the telephone conference, Soskovets said:

"The proposals from local level regarding preparation for winter will be examined by the government, and appropriate practical measures, including measures relating to reciprocal payments between enterprises, will be taken. The situation is under control."

Press Service Says 147 Killed in October Events

LD2611233393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1656 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Russian president has carried out its own investigation into the number of victims killed during tragic events in Moscow [3-4 October].

Anatoliy Krasikov, head of the press service, told "Eho Moskvy" radio that Russian Deputy Health Care Minister Aleksey Moskvachev had provided a report on the number of victims saying that 147 people had been killed in Moscow.

"Speaking on "Eho Moskvy" radio, krasikov pointed out that the majority of victims died outside the Ostankino TV Centre. According to Krasikov, 19 dead bodies were removed from the Russian White House on the first day of the tragedy, six more bodies on the second day and several bodies were removed later.

Election Issues

Yeltsin Reaches 'Gentlemen's Agreement' on Election Conduct

LD2611124393 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0955 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Anna Melnikova and Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov—Boris Yeltsin held a meeting in the Kremlin today with the leaders of all parties and electoral associations which have been officially allowed to participate in the elections to the Federal Assembly.

Opening the meeting the president noted the unusual nature of the present election campaign. Thirteen parties and associations are taking part in it, he said, while in the past there was only one.

The head of state said that for the first time 700 to 800 observers from many countries of the world are coming to our country for the elections. "So, it would be a good thing if the culture of the election campaign is in keeping with Russian culture as a whole," he said.

The president noted that a fierce tussle is already under way, and that words have been uttered, "bordering on insults." He appealed for this "not to happen in the new Russia, for the elections to proceed normally, for everyone to campaign for their own party and their own program, and for there to be no mud-slinging against one's neighbor."

Boris Yeltsin criticized attempts to use airtime to criticize the Constitution. "I must isue a warning that free television airtime is not being granted for this purpose, and in future the airtime will be denied if you depart from the subject. Your subject is your program. But we are going to fight for the Constitution. Therefore, I ask you not to touch the Constitution at this time," he said.

Boris Yeltsin added that agreement might be possible to publish the programs of the electoral associations in the main newspapers without charge. As far as the regions are concerned, the electoral blocs themselves should reach agreement on publication there.

Then the president said that the State Duma would be housed in the building of the former CEMA. This, he said, is a very good building with 420 rooms, 40 large areas, and 2 comfortable halls. Everything there should be repaired and ready for work by 11 January. Boris Yeltsin noted that at present, Moscow's Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov is opposed to this, "but I think we will reach agreement with him."

As far as the Federation Council is concerned, it is planned to house it in the present House of the Russian Press.

Taking part in the meeting were: Arkadiy Volskiy (Civic Union for Stability, Justice and Progress), Yegor Gaydar (Russia's Choice) Vladimir Zhirinovskiy (Liberal democratic Party of Russia), Gennadiy Zyuganov (Communist Party of the Russian Federation), Mikhail Lapshin (Agrarian Party of Russia), Vyacheslav Lashchevskiy (Future of Russia-New Names), Vladimir Lukin (Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Electoral Bloc), Anatoliy Panfilov ('Cedar' Constructive Ecological Movement), Anatoliy Sobchak (Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms), Nikolay Travkin (Democratic party of Russia), Konstantin Frolov (Dignity and Charity), Alevtina Fedulova ('Women of Russia' Movement), and Aleksandr Shokhin (Party of Russian Unity and Accord).

[Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian at 1116 GMT on 26 November, in a Moscow-datelined report, added the following:

["The heads of the electoral blocs who had a meeting in the kremlin today with Russia's President Boris Yeltsin reached a "gentlemen's agreement" about conducting the election campaign in an ethical manner, Vyacheslav Kostikov, the president's press secretary, said at a news conference on the results of the meeting.

["'All the participants in the meeting acknowledged that the election campaign is being conducted in a democratic manner, and that the press is covering it in a free and unprejudiced way,' he said."]

Kostikov Describes Meeting With Blocs

LD2711030293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1813 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[Text] Most leaders of the election blocs and parties who met with President Yeltsin on Friday [26 November] believe that the election campaign is "proceeding

smoothly with the press being free and unbiased," Presidential Spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov told journalists in the Kremlin.

He characterized a number of participants in the meeting. In his words, the Liberal Democratic Party Leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, seated close to the President, urged all those busy with the election campaign "to refrain from embittering it to the extent of slandering society. The main thing for all is to be patriots of Russia." Nor did he make any radical complaint with regard to the draft constitution.

Kostikov described a speech by the Democratic Party Leader Nikolay Travkin "as the most caustic." Travkin argued that cabinet members, standing for the State Duma, have been using business trips at the tax payers expense for election propaganda.

One of the leaders of the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms Anatoliy Sobchak urged adopting the fundamental law as soon as possible. "If the new constitution is not approved by Russians on December 12, the legitimacy of Federal Assembly deputies will hang in the balance."

The statements by the Agrarian Party Chairman Mikhail Lapshin and the Civic Union's Leader Arkadiy Volskiy "upset" Kostikov by "their corporate interests." However, as Kostikov believes, behind each of them, "there clearly are the interests of political clans and groups of these blocs, interests that are detrimental to the common national strategic goals."

On the position of the Russian communists' leader Gennadiy Zyuganov, Kostikov said that his tone was restrained. Nonetheless, Zyuganov voiced the conviction that the new constitution "infringes on the entire political history of Russia."

The presidential spokesman described comments by Vladimir Lukin of the "Yavlinsky-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc and by Alexander, a senior member of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord as "balanced, calm, and constructive."

The most concise, in Kostikov's words, was a speech by Yegor Gaydar, the head of the Russia's Choice bloc, who warned at the peak of the election campaign against haste with "the payment of all debts and compensation to the population of Russia." Despite the short-term benefits that such promises offer, attempts to fulfil them, Gaydar said, would trigger off inflationary collapse.

Kostikov conveyed to journalists some remarks made by Yeltsin, who regards the talks with the leaders of political blocs and parties as "the best form of the mutual exchange of views." However, in Kostikov's words, the president voiced readiness to set aside time for bilateral meetings, if the need for them arises.

More on Meeting

PM2911093993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "We Know Where Parliament Will Be, But Not Who Will Be in It"]

[Text] "I am not singling out anyone among the political blocs or parties, nor will I do so." This statement, delivered by Russian Federation President B. Yeltsin at a meeting in the Kremlin with leaders of political forces who have joined the election campaign, can be considered as his standpoint. The head of state should be "above the fray." B. Yeltsin most probably came to this conclusion on the eve of the meeting. Throughout the past week he has been working on the program documents of the parties and blocs and studying analytical material on their popularity standings and on the progress of the election campaign. IZVESTIYA's correspondent learned this from sources within the president's administration.

Characterizing the current election campaign, B. Yeltsin expressed regret that, having entered the stage of fierce contest, the competitors are launching attacks bordering on insults. In connection with this the president recalled that, when he stood for the Supreme Soviet of the former Union against ZIL plant director Brakov they agreed that each would canvass for himself, for his own program, without insulting the other. And they kept their word.

The president expressed concern over criticism of the draft of the new Constitution during the election debates. "We will fight for the Constitution," he said, and warned that, if candidates for parliament go beyond the bounds of their theme, their free TV airtime would be taken away. "Your theme is your program," he remarked.

The president also expressed his opinion on where the Federal Assembly should be housed. The right place for the State Duma, he said, is the building of the former Council of Mutual Economic Assistance. At the moment Yu. Luzhkov is opposed to this, he said, but I think that we will reach an agreement with him. The plan is to house the Federation Council in the Press House building at 26 Pushkin Street. The editorial offices of various newspapers will most probably move from there to 19 Novyy Arbat.

In connection with questions from representatives of parties and blocs about free publication of party programs in the press, the president remarked that agreement could be reached on this also. True, he did not say now, but he had in mind the central newspapers.

The meeting lasted for over 90 minutes and took place behind closed doors. Afterward V. Kostikov, the president's press secretary, informed journalists that the main discussion during the meeting unfolded around the conditions in which the election campaign is taking place. Participants in the session agreed on the idea that the

blocs should be numbered so that it would be easier for voters to find them on the voting slips. N. Travkin expressed his opinion most sharply on the subject of the election campaign now being conducted. "Well, what honest elections? Where are they?" he said. "Members of the government standing for parliament travel on business trips and the like on state funds."

A. Sobchak drew attention to the following important problem—that it is inappropriate to drag the issue of the new Constitution into election squabbles. He was supported by A. Shokhin. G. Zyuganov, the communists' leader, maintained a completely different point of view, although, according to the press secretary, his remarks were well balanced.

According to V. Kostikov, corporative interests were noticeable in the statements of several parties' representatives—Fedulova, Lashevskiy, Volskiy—and, he noted, there is every reason to fear that the new parliament could turn into lobby groupings, to the detriment of the state's strategic interests.

Kostikov Comments Further

PM2911101393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 pp 1-2

[Vladimir Yanchenkov report under the rubric "Kremlin Meeting": "Serious, Major Discussion"]

[Text] Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin met with the leaders of 13 electoral associations in the Kremlin 26 November. Problems connected with the course of the election campaign and the use of the mass media by representatives of election blocs were discussed.

Opening the meeting, B.N. Yeltsin stressed in particular:

"I would not like the election campaign to descend to offensive attacks even at its sharpest moments. We should not bad-mouth our neighbors. Those who perpetrate such a thing will be deprived of free airtime. Your task is to set out your own election platform, and no deviation from that task will be allowed. I would ask you not to touch the draft new Constitution, we will fight for it later... I would like our discussions today to be serious and major."

There was a lively exchange of opinions, in which A.I. Volskiy (Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress), Ye.T. Gaydar (Russia's Choice), V.V. Zhirinovskiy (Liberal Democratic Party), G.A. Zyuganov (Communist Party of the Russian Federation), M.I. Lapshin (Agrarian Party of Russia), V.V. Lashchevskiy (Russia's Future-New Names), V.P. Lukin (the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc), A.A. Panfilov (the "Kedr" Constructive Ecology Movement), A.A. Sobchak (Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms), N.I. Travkin (Democratic Party of Russia), K.V. Frolov (Dignity and Charity), A.V. Fedulova (the "Women of Russia" political movement), and A.N. Shokhin (Party of Russian Unity and Accord) took part.

Journalists were briefed on the discussion at a briefing by Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov. B.N. Yeltsin, he said, drew the attention of those present to the need to ensure that the election campaign is held in a civilized manner. There should be no "playing to the gallery" in the campaigning marathon. Instead of explaining their program, certain participants in the election campaign have started criticizing the new draft Constitution. This will benefit nobody.

The president's position on the question of the Constitution is unambiguous: It should not be touched, as he put it in television and other debates. Too much nervous energy, effort, and political energy has been expended, there have already been too many clashes over the Constitution, and the last version of the fundamental law was obtained at too high a price for the stability and prosperity of Russia. It would be senseless to get involved in a new bout of criticism.

The meeting acutely raised the issue of the ethical aspect of the TV appearances by certain electoral bloc leaders, and even those present who had, to put it mildly, been lacking in tact toward their opponents, agreed that such things should not henceforth be permitted and that campaigning needs to be done within a civilized framework. The electoral bloc leaders, Kostikov stressed, have authorized him to assure the press that they had all reached a kind of gentleman's agreement on this issue.

Touching on the election platforms of different blocs, the president proposed the idea of the free publication in the press of the main provisions of these programs in order that voters should be able to compare their well-considered formulas with what the bloc leaders say on TV and radio. The president's proposal was supported by all present. (We would note, incidentally, that throughout last week ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA carried the programs of several movements and blocs free of charge, and is continuing to do so).

B.N. Yeltsin particularly stressed that he is not picking out anyone from among all the electoral blocs, and would not be doing so.

The electoral association leaders spoke out on the issues that were discussed, reaffirming positions that are already known to society.

Occasional comments were made at the meeting about the format of the ballot paper itself. As is well known, the names on the paper will be in alphabetical order, without any numbering. This, in the opinion of many, makes it harder to conduct party campaigning. The president agreed to speak again with Central Electoral Commission Chairman N.T. Ryabov about introducing numbering on the ballot papers. Alphabetical order will be retained, but all the ballot papers will be numbered, which will make campaigning easier—you will be able to vote, for instance, for bloc No. 1, No. 3, No. 5, and so forth.

Despite certain unevenness and shortcomings, the president's press secretary stressed, in the opinion of all the

meeting participants the election campaign is proceeding under fair and democratic conditions, and good conditions have been created for the electoral platforms of all blocs, parties, and movements, to be set out.

Shokhin Says Unity, Accord Party of Regions

LD2611143193

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1858 GMT on 25 November broadcasts a 19-minute election program, which includes a 10-minute studio interview with Aleksandr Shokhin, Russian vice premier and leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, by Yuliy Semenov.

Shokhin begins by saying that his party is the only one not to represent a specific social group. "We are the party of the regions and Russian provinces. We are the party that seeks to bring together the lands of Russia, and we will work in the new parliament expressing the views of our regions and lands," he says. He adds that his party is strong by having among its members young energetic professionals who work at a state level, such as Sergey Shakhray. "I regard myself as a practicing reformer, but as I have already said, when reforms are under threat, when they slow down, I become a radical; on the contrary, when excessively radical moods become prevalent, I become a conservative."

A voiceover comment briefly outlines Shokhin's biography and career. Asked why members of the government have joined different political blocs on the eve of elections, Shokhin says this is not a device to get as many seats in parliament as possible. "There are some fundamental differences which emerged before 4 October, too, although we did not always put them on display. After the October events, and after the common enemy represented by the Supreme Soviet—Khasbulatov and Rutskoy—had disappeared, it became clear that we had to tell people who we are, to show them that we are not simply the president's and the prime minister's yes-men. We had to make our political views known and we went ahead," Shokhin says.

He continues: "We had consultations and talks, for instance, with Yegor Timurovich Gaydar. He made his own proposals, for example, that Sergey Mikhaylovich Shakhray join the [Russia's Choice] bloc on a personal basis, joins the bloc's trio. There have been reports about this of late. Why did Sergey Mikhaylovich refuse? Because he did not want to join the bloc on a personal basis, he wanted to join it with a specific program, ideas, and requests to the Russia's Choice bloc. These requests included renouncing radicalism in the list of candidate and a certain radicalism of the program."

Shokhin goes on to speak about the need to develop a reliable mechanism for interaction between the center and the regions. He says:

"We reckon that a reform of the state structure and local self- administration will result in the majority of functions being delegated to the provinces and local self-administration, and then we will have a balanced system, under which most decisions will be made on a non-state level, because Moscow and the capitals of subjects of the Federation represent state authority. What we need is that people themselves solve their problems. Therefore, budget reform is needed to provide them with a financial source to determine the prospects of their lives independently."

More facts follow about Shokhin's career and current post. Following the return to the interview, Shokhin clarifies his policies regarding western financial institutions, such as the IMF. He says that he always defends Russia's position, "and we have taught these organizations to understand Russia's specific situation," he stresses As regards relations with CIS countries, Shokhin says that Russia will remain their donor, because there are 25 million ethnic Russians residing outside Russia, and also because these states are tied to Russia economically and historically. "They owe us and the situation will remain such for a long time yet. There is an obviously distorted balance of trade, and now we need to do everything to stop concealing these donor-type relations, which should be made civilized," he adds.

Shokhin says that he believes there is light at the end of the Russian economic tunnel and reforms should be continued, while attention should be paid to social issues. If this is done, he says, the situation may improve as soon as next year.

The interview concludes with more voiceover facts about Shokhin and his family.

The remainder of the program is made up of a batch of political adverts as follows: Civic Union (30 seconds); Russia's Choice (7 minutes 12 seconds); Democratic Party of Russia (18 seconds); and Women of Russia-for Russia (16 seconds).

Travkin Taken To Task for 23 Nov Campaign Broadcast

PM2611144193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 1

[Nikita Vaynonen "Rejoinder": "Isn't Travkin Playing on the Others' Turf?"]

[Text] Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party of Russia [DPR], appeared on television Tuesday [23 November] evening. It was, in my view, the most professional and—what is not unimportant—the most impressive broadcast that day, but unfortunately, the speaker has an attribute which, in my eyes at least, nullifies the almost entirely constructive message of his speech. I will quote:

"The DPR has no spare money today, but we cannot afford simply to go to the bank and grab several billion rubles there, the way certain smart guys did before 3-4

October to protect themselves and democracy." "There is no need to read the manifestos of those blocs... (he means the blocs of Gaydar, Shakhray, and so on—N.V.), they are a con, anyway." "Boris Fedorov will vow to fulfill the socialist pledges in his report to the IMF... And I believe Fedorov, because you can kid people here, but not there, you need to tell your masters the truth, otherwise you'll get sent packing."

Nikolay Ilich's down-home style impresses many people. He is an approachable guy! He used to succeed this way back when he was a deputy of the USSR Supreme Soviet, but come on candidate, are you not ashamed to resort to such a dishonest ploy? Because you are perfectly well aware that, first, even people with a rudimentary education will not use your language; second, scoring points by ridiculing and denigrating your adversary when you know full well that he is not actually so petty and stupid as you make out is tomfoolery not politics: After all, you will not increase your own merits by taking them away from someone else, like clowns at the circus stealing each other's pants! And, finally, we have the third and most important point: What you are doing is illlegal. You are in breach of not just the Civil Code and the Law on the Press, which lay down liability for defamation, but also the Statute on Information Safeguards for Election Campaigning, which has been ratified by presidential edict. It says (Paragraph 13) that a participant in election debates must "not make defamatory statements about other participants" and that (Paragraph 25) "abuse of the right to carry out election campaigning," expressed in the distribution of a report or documents "impugning the honor, dignity, and professional reputation of candidates...incurs liability as stipulated by the law."

One can only express great regret that one of the most interesting candidates (in human terms) for the new parliament should provide such dishonorable grounds for examination in the Information Court of Arbitration.

'Strategy' Center Denies TV Program Allegations

LD2711202193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] The press office of the center for humanitarian issues and political studies, Strategy, led by Gennadiy Burbulis has denied allegations by an overnight Russian TV program. The presenter of the Politbureau program referring to "the 6th floor" news agency spoke of a confidential paper which allows President Yeltsin to annul the results of the December election if found incompatible with the interests of Russia's Choice alliance. It was alleged that the paper drawn up by the Strategy center had been approved by President Yeltsin and Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar.

Head of the center's press office Mikhail Larkin stressed that the attempts to try to link the center's activity with unlawful action cannot be qualified other than a blatant lie aimed at discrediting both the center and Russia's Choice alliance.

Strategy leaders demanded an immediate public denial of the slanderous assertions, an administrative inquiry into the incident and apologies to the misled electorate.

Larkin said the center would bring a law suit to try to defend its honor and dignity.

Opponents Intend To Prevent Constitutional Referendum

LD2611184393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1708 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Filipov]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Opponents of the "presidential" draft constitution intend to call their own "constitutional assembly" for purposes of preventing a nationwide referendum on the Constitution scheduled on December 12, ITAR-TASS learned today from Oleg Rumyantsev, former executive secretary of the Russian Constitutional Commission, ex-people's deputy of the Russian Parliament Gennadiy Sayenko and other politicians who criticise the presidential draft.

The conference is scheduled to take place in the building of the parliamentary centre of the former Russian Parliament in Moscow on December 3. The move is believed to have been officially initiated by the Civic Union election bloc which is among 13 parliamentary blocs and parties put on the federal list of candidates to the State Duma temporarily allowed to use the premises of the parliamentary centre.

Shakhray's Party Criticizes Call

LD2611201293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1743 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow, 26 Nov (ITAR-TASS)—The Party of Russian Unity and Accord [PRUA] has described as "directly deceiving voters" the calls made by a number of electoral associations and individual candidates to vote against the draft constitution.

The PRUA statement received by ITAR-TASS and signed by Aleksandr Kotenkov stresses that such a practice during preelection campaigning aimed at distorting the will of the voters is essentially a public refusal of an association or candidate to stand for the Federal Assembly.

The fact that an electoral association and individual candidates are participating in the parliamentary elections is viewed by the statment as "the acceptance by them of the obligations to voters to adhere to both the provision on federal bodies of power for a provisional period and the corresponding articles of the draft constitution on parliament." It was with this is mind, it is noted, that they were registered with the Central Electoral Commission, after which "they restricted their right to reject the draft of the new constitution." Registered candidates can only make use of the right to

campaign against the draft constitution provided they remove their names from the register in the Central Electoral Commission.

In connection with what has been outlined above, the statement draws the conclusion: "Campaigning by individual candidates to get votes for their candidature for the present parliament and calls by these very same candidates for voting against this same parliament" are incompatible.

Shumeyko Urges Media To Intensify Constitution 'Propaganda'

LD2911133293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1256 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Russian mass media, especially on the local level, will have to "radically intensify" the propaganda of the draft constitution, according to a decision of a government commission headed by First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko.

In the remaining two weeks before the December 12 referendum on the constitution the mass media have "to bring the draft home to practically every citizen of Russia so that everyone, thanks to qualified comments and detailed explanations, can comprehend all the provisions of the new basic law of our country", the press service of the government said.

Zorkin on Consequences of Adopting Constitution

LD2711182493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Russia needs "another draft constitution, another fundamental law," Valeriy Zorkin, a constitutional court judge, believes.

The former court chairman suggested in an interview with Interfax that consequences from the adoption of the draft constitution, put for a referendum on December 12, "may be fatal."

Although he supports a referendum, Zorkin says that "one should stop and think that this constitution carries such concentration of power that has always bred misfortunes in our country. The president rids himself of control over society and of power sharing principles. In this draft, the mechanism of restraints and counterbalances, the balance of power, is sharply deformed in favour of the executive branch", he stressed.

Zorkin recalled that the initial draft, prepared by the constitutional conference, rest on the perception of "strong president—strong parliament." However, subsequently the draft has been heavily modified on the president's initiative. Now it can be described as a document, presupposing "weak parliament—strong president."

By the current draft, "president is not merely head of state but, in fact, authoritarian ruler," Zorkin declared. He is empowered to set home and foreign policy guidelines and endorse military doctrine and fiscal policy. Thereby, in Zorkin's opinion, "president substitutes legislator." Parliament is removed from the appointment of ministers and senior officials. More than that, a presidential administration now appears in the Constitution, in fact, in parallel to government.

All this, Zorkin contends, "puts into the president's hands such levers of powers that enable him to dominate both executive and legislative branches."

"French president is to be a semi-president as compared with American head of state. But even American president (and USA, as is known, is a presidential republic) is a semi-president as compared with his Russian counterpart," Zorkin believes.

At the same time, he stressed that Russia needed a new constitution. In his opinion, it would be better to work more on its draft through extensive regional discussion. He also suggested returning to the idea of a constituent assembly, proposed by some democrats before.

Zorkin intends to carry on as a Constitutional Court judge and uphold a new constitution, if it is adopted since "a bad constitution is better than no constitution at all."

He intends to resume his court duties on Monday after illness.

Asked whether he will attend a so-called opposition constitutional conference," scheduled for December 3, Zorkin stressed that he gave a preliminary consent but only if "centric constructive forces rather than extremists be there."

Deputy Justice Minister on Constitution Referendum

MK2711093093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 19/21, 26 Nov-2 Dec, 93 (signed to press 25 Nov) p 5

[Interview with Mikhail Mityukov, Russian Federation first deputy justice minister, chairman of the Legislative Proposals Commission under the Russian Federation president, by Anatoliy Kostyukov in the "Point of Order" column: "Shall We Adopt It or Shall We Read It First?"]

[Text] [Kostyukov] Sociologists say that even in large cities in Russia three-quarters of voters are not yet familiar with the draft new constitution. There is a danger that the number of those approving it may exceed the number of those who have read it. What measures are being taken to make the content of this document known to, as they used to say in the past, "each and every individual"?

[Mityukov] The central papers have published the draft in approximately 14 million copies. Furthermore, 3 million special brochures have been printed, and 82 Federation components have published the draft in the

regional press. Posters are being prepared on a centralized basis to be located in post offices, savings banks, and polling stations. The promotion of the new constitution has begun on TV and radio. Several video clips have been made with comments by qualified lawyers, and they will be shown soon. As you know, a telephone information service is working within the presidential administration which provides several hundred consultations to voters every day. Initially the questions were mainly concerned with Chapter 2—human rights and freedoms—but now people are mostly interested in the structure of state power institutions, and they are proposing certain amendments. To amend the draft now is too late, of course; at present the main task is to help the voters in making a conceptual assessment of the new constitution and to explain which political and economic results its adoption will yield.

[Kostyukov] Propaganda and agitation will apparently not be able to substitute for direct "communication" with the text. Supposing that on the eve of the voting sociologists say that the majority of the citizens have not read the constitution. Can this serve as grounds for postponing the referendum?

[Mityukov] In order to make voting conditional on familiarization with the text it is necessary that each voter should have a wish to read it. We cannot possibly decree compulsory reading! It seems to me that part of the voters, perhaps a substantial part, will vote relying on information received from TV and radio. The constitution is a very complex juridical document and therefore an average voter will take into account only the fundamental principles and ideas of the draft. One voter will say: This constitution allows private land ownership and this responds to my interests. Another will say: This constitution finally creates a strong power structure and this is good. The third will say: A court by jury is envisioned and therefore I will vote in favor.

[Kostyukov] Can the results of voting in the Russian Federation republics be forecast?

[Mityukov] According to our preliminary estimates, in a considerable part of the republics the draft constitution will be supported. One can be sure of a positive result in such a large republic as Yakutia; support in Khakassia and Buryatia is not ruled out. It is more difficult to speak about the North Caucasus region. With respect to the Volga area, difficulties are bound to arise in Tatarstan and possibly in Bashkortostan. Of course, one should not say too categorically that in the other republics the draft will be adopted, but in most of the republics, I repeat, it will be supported.

[Kostyukov] Mikhail Alekseyevich, what will happen if the constitution is not passed?

[Mityukov] The Statute on Federal Power Bodies in the Interim Period will be operative then.

[Kostyukov] The event scheduled for 12 December is officially called a nationwide vote, not a referendum. The meaning of this euphemism is perfectly transparent. Does this mean that the results of the voting cannot be interpreted as the results of a referendum and therefore that they will not have supreme juridical force?

[Mityukov] The results of the voting will be interpreted according to the Regulations on Procedures for Conducting Nationwide Voting on the Draft Constitution, approved by the president. The document clearly sets out all the relevant legal norms. As for juridical force.... If more than half the voters turn out at the referendum and the majority of them say "yes," you can judge for yourself whether this decision will be forceful [silnoye] or not.

[Kostyukov] Any pedant will say that there has been no referendum in the first place; what took place was something like a mass public opinion poll.

[Mityukov] Well, political forces disagreeing with this draft will be trying to "play" the results of the vote in their favor in any event.

[Kostyukov] If out of 107 million voters 54 million vote in favor, you must agree that there will not be much room for loose interpretations. It will be another matter, however, if the constitution is adopted by 25 percent of the adult population. Does it not seem to you that an absolute majority of the citizens will be entitled not to recognize this document as the fundamental state law?

[Mityukov] It needs to be pointed out that in the recent period both the essence of elections and the essence of referendums has changed. Whereas earlier participation in the balloting was almost obligatory and there was tacit monitoring of voter turnout, now this tradition has been broken. In today's Russia, just like in any democratic country, it is the personal concern of each individual whether to vote or not to vote. If a person does not come to the polling station, this means that he does not care and that he is satisfied with any decision. Therefore the problem will be solved by a politically active part of the population which has a responsible attitude to the institution of elections and referendum.

Parties' Stands on Constitution Highlighted

MK2711131093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 84, 26 Nov 93 (Signed to press 26 Nov) p 2

[Dmitriy Kuznets report under the "Viewpoints" rubric: "Constitution's Fate. Some Blocs Hope To Change It After Referendum"]

[Text] Five electoral blocs out of 13 have called on the electorate to vote for the draft constitution at the 12 December referendum, four blocs oppose it, and another four have not yet made up their minds.

The "Russia's Choice" bloc is alone in its readiness to back Boris Yeltsin at the referendum virtually unquestionably. Sergey Shakhray's PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] pointed to the need to adopt the draft "in order to avert civil war and Russia's collapse;" it was

harshly critical, however, of leaving the Federation Treaty and provisions "establishing a balance between branches of power" outside the fundamental law. The Russian Democratic Reform Movement [RDRM], while calling for a "Yes" vote, employs similar arguments: Gavriil Popov, chief of the movement's electoral campaign, said that "the draft is not, obviously, a masterpiece, but it should be adopted in order to avoid a vacuum." Mr. Popov also denounced the stance adopted by the leaders of the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc. One of them, Nikolay Petrakov, said that "the constitution may not be adopted in its present form, because its transitional provisions cancel early presidential elections." Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, for his part, said that he would not turn out for the referendum. He would not give the voters any advice, either. He cannot support "such" a draft, nor can he oppose it, because "Russia cannot be left without a constitution." Viktor Sheynis, on the contrary, is ready to say "Yes," albeit "with a heavy heart."

Messrs. Petrakov's and Yavlinskiy's stance was denounced by PRES' No. 2, Aleksandr Shokhin. "Yavlinskiy simply does not want to give up an opportunity to run for the presidency in the 12 June early elections. If the constitution is adopted, there will be no elections. This explains everything," the deputy prime minister said.

The centrists from Travkin's DPR [Democratic Party of Russia] and Volskiy's Civic Union also spoke up against Yeltsin's fundamental law, along with Zyuganov's communists. To all appearances, the "Dignity and Charity" movement of war and accident veterans is also ready to join them. Mr. Zyuganov sees the derailing of the referendum as the RFCP's only chance in the struggle against "Yeltsin's bourgeoisie." What there may be in the text makes no difference.

A stance taken by those who "abstained" turned out to be fairly interesting. The Agrarian Party, despite "the wrong solution" to its favorite land issue, agrees to adopt the draft "as a basis." Sergey Shakhray said that "an acceptable federative structure" could be achieved even after the referendum. (The draft mentions that relations between the center and Federation components will be determined, among other things, by "other treaties." It is these treaties that Mr. Shakhray is apparently going to push through the new parliament.) The "Women of Russia" movement announced that "the voters should be informed that the constitution will undergo changes as early as next year." The "New Names" bloc demanded that Boris Yeltsin cancel the referendum altogether.

Thus, even before winning the elections and without waiting for the results of the voting on the draft fundamental law, contenders vying for State Duma seats have equipped themselves with scissors and pens and started "adjusting" the draft.

[Article includes the following boxed passage]

Attitude of Electoral Blocs to the Draft Constitution To Be Submitted to the 12 December Referendum

Bloc	Calls on its potential electorate to vote at the referendum	Comments on the text and adoption procedure
Russia's Choice	For constitution	No conditions attached
Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin	No agreed stance	Some support, albeit with reservations; others oppose, because the draft cancels early presidential elections
PRES	For constitution	Have to accept it because of the threat of civil war. Objections: balance of federal relations distorted.
RDRM	For constitution	If it is not adopted, a vacuum of power will emerge, the parliament will be illegitimate
Dem. Party	Against constitution	"Yeltsin's constitution" is "bloody," it ushers in a presidential dictatorship
Civic Union	Against constitution	Discredits the very term "constitution." The constitution may be introduced by presidential edict from a position of the winner
Agrarian Party	May be adopted as basis	Provision on national ownership of land should not be left out. A bias in favor of the executive branch
Communist Party	Against constitution	The very fact of the referendum is "unnatural." The draft is "antipeople," it "establishes a bourgeois dictatorship."
Liberal Democrats	For constitution	It should be adopted, for there should be no vacuum left. Objections: greater centralism needed—the country should be divided into guberniyas with equal rights
Russia's Future-New Names	Do not appeal to voters, demand that the president cancel the referendum	A national discussion is needed. It is too early to vote. The referendum calls for a "Yes" or "No" vote on the entire text, but what is needed is an article-by-article discussion. The draft is fraught with the threat of a dictatorship

"Cedar"	For constitution	It is desirable that the Federal Assembly amend environmental provisions after the referendum
Dignity & Charity	An appeal to voters under discussion	The movement's "social" demands not reflected in the draft, too little time given for preparation
Russia's Women	Do not insist on any stance	Ask voters to bear in mind that the constitution can be adjusted even after the referendum

Blocs, Candidates Warned Against Criticizing Constitution

MK2711134093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Hold the Front Page!" rubric: Will They Exclude You From Criticizing the Draft Constitution?"]

[Text] Anatoliy Sliva, deputy chief of the president's State and Law Administration, stated in yesterday's meeting with the press that electoral associations and candidates for different chambers had no right to "reject the draft of a new constitution as regards the status of the future parliament." Political parties and citizens who are not candidates are not denied the right to campaign against the draft constitution. As regards electoral associations and candidates, they may use the right to criticize on the condition that they delete their associations and candidacies from the Central Electoral Commission registration list.

It is possible that the Central Electoral Commission will exclude candidacies and electoral associations from the elections if they continue to criticize the draft constitution.

Candidates Not To Call for Votes Against New Constitution

LD2711203293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1647 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Calls by the leaders of some election blocs and candidates standing in elections to the new parliament to vote against the country's new constitution are in violation of the status both of alliances and individual candidates. This follows a statement in Moscow from Chief of the Russian President's State and Law Department Aleksandr Kotenkov of the Russian Unity and Concord Party.

In his view, the participation of an alliance or an individual candidate in elections amounts to the undertaking of a commitment before the electorate to comply with the law on interim federal government bodies and appropriate constitutional clauses on parliament.

Kotenkov says that the signature-collecting and registration was allowed after the alliances and independent candidates had agreed to that condition.

In his words, after the formal registration the alliances and candidates have self-restricted their right to reject the new constitution as far as the new parliament is concerned.

However, Kotenkov said that parties and associations were free to canvass against the new basic law including its articles on the new parliament. And so are election blocs and independent candidates provided they annul their registration with the central election commission.

In the meantime, calls by the officially-registered blocs and candidates to vote against the new constitution or its sections on the new parliament amount to "the distortion of the electorate's will expressed during the signature-collecting campaign and their formal refusal to stand in elections to the new legislature" and can be qualified as hoodwinking the voters, Kotenkov said.

He says that campaigning for one's candidacy to the new parliament and canvassing against it are incompatible.

Lipitskiy on Attitude Toward Constitution

LD2811135893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1259 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] The statement of the attitude to Russia's new constitution is "an important aspect of the election program of any candidate and party," while the ban on the criticism of the proposed draft is "absolutely outrageous", leader of the Free Russia People's Party Vasiliy Lipitskiy told Interfax.

Last Friday, Deputy Head of the president's State and Legal Department Anatoliy Sliva expressed the opinion that the candidates' calls not to vote for the draft constitution went against the status of a candidate to the Federal Assembly.

Doctor of Philosophy Vasiliy Lipitskiy, 46, who is running for election to the State Duma as a representative of the Civil Union and a candidate of a one-mandate electoral district in Novosibirsk, believes that "limitations on the discussion of the constitution is a limitation of the freedom of election campaign".

Roundtable Discussion on Constitution Viewed

LD2711200193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1653 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Nikolay Manvelov and Pavel Bogdanov]

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—A round-table discussion attended by representatives of various political parties ended in a disarray in Moscow on Saturday [27 November] after its participants failed to come to an agreement on the ways to resolve the ethnic and political crisis in Russia.

The discussion centered on the draft constitution which was supported by the majority of the participants. At the same time, some parties, including the Democratic Party of Russia, lashed out at the draft, saying that "the law and independent court, not the president, should be the guarantor of citizens' rights and freedoms and the equality of the subjects of the federation."

Nikolay Medvedev, head of the Russian presidential administration department for work with regions, stressed that in the present situation the draft constitution "is a major stabilising element" in society. He said the constitution has fully incorporated the provisions of the federative treaty which sealed the sovereignty of Russian constituent republics. The draft also provides for the equality of the subjects of the federation "from the point of view of relationships between the bodies of power at various levels," Medvedev said.

His position was shared by Vladimir Lysenko, a co-chairman of the Republican Party of Russia, which is part of the Yavlinsky- Boldyrev-Lukin election bloc. He said the draft constitution contains the clauses necessary for delineating powers between the centre and the regions. The proposed model of state system should serve as a basis for building a federation, but "some republics may have their own special status," which should be determined by means of talks, Lysenko noted.

Andrey Fedotov, a member of the association the Future of Russia—New Names, suggested submitting the question of the adoption of the constitution to the Federal Assembly, Russia's new parliament. He believes the constitution is being adopted in conditions of haste and some of its provisions, particularly those concerning the delineation of powers between the centre and the regions, need a more thorough consideration.

Election Candidate Pochinok Receives Death Threats

LD2711175593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1722 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yevgeniy Tkachenko]

[Text] Magnitogorsk November 27 TASS—Terrorists have threatened to kill Russian Deputy Finance Minister Aleksandr Pochinok if he refuses to withdraw from the election campaign.

Pochinok is running for a seat in the State Duma, the lower house of Russia's new parliament, as a candidate in the Magnitogorsk constituency, Chelyabinsk region.

Pochinok's mother received an anonymous telephone call on Saturday and was warned that if her son did not withdraw his candidature, he will be killed, the newspaper MAGNITOGORSKIY RABOCHY said.

The newspaper has published Pochinok's statement in which he said that he will not withdraw from the election campaign, while the threats only go to prove that his opponents have neither a programme nor a candidate to put against him in the election race.

Roundtable Held on Press Coverage of Elections

PM2611145993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 2

[Nikita Vaynonen report under the rubric "The Press and the Elections": "The Voter Pays Taxes in Order To Know the Truth"]

[Text] A two-day roundtable discussion on the theme of "Democratic Elections Need Democratic Coverage" has ended in Moscow. Russian and foreign journalists took part in it. Two main ideas were stressed: The press must unquestionably be objective in its coverage of the elections, but there can be no neutrality in the debate between truth and lies, antiracism and racism, and so forth (according to Jorgen Schleimann, Denmark); the independence of the mass media is determined less by the source of finance than by political culture—the BBC, for example, is a state television and radio company but is recognized throughout the world as a model of an independent corporation (Claude Moisy, France). In the opinion of some of the Russian participants in the discussion, the advice and experience of their foreign colleagues give grounds for the conclusion that a lack of democracy may paradoxically merge into a formal "democracy overdose" when the opponents of democracy do as they please and the desire to be free of state subsidy leads to a dependence on society being replaced by a dependence on money. According to Ernest Skalski (Poland), the best guarantee of press independence is to transfer the means of information production into the private ownership of journalists themselves.

Ivan Laptev, general director of the "IZVESTIYA" concern, who chaired the roundtable, said that out of more than 20,000 Russian newspapers currently registered with the Press Ministry, around 600 are subsidized through central state organs and approximately the same number through the local organs.

But in the opinion of many colleagues, it is too soon to raise the question of making the press immediately and completely free of state subsidies. Editorial offices must learn to stand on their own two feet first. Ultimately the issue is one of the population's interests. If a newspaper has plenty of subscribers, why should readers suffer? But now they are voters too. They have not only paid for their newspaper as subscribers but, as taxpayers, have also paid for the very existence of the mass media and have the right to objective information on the election campaign, which the state mass media are duty bound to provide. Freedom from state support right now, with an immature democratic culture, would mean the boundless supremacy of paid propaganda and consequently distorted election results. And that state of affairs is hardly going to change, at least not before the next election campaign.

Legal Department Releases Document on Campaign Practices

LD2611163393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1541 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—The state legal department under the Russian president today released a document "On the Legal Assessment of Campaigning Practices Used Against the Adoption of the Draft Constitution of the Russian Federation", saying:

"Leaders of some election blocs and individual candidates to the Council of the Federation and the State Duma, have lately, in the course of their canvassing campaign, urged the electors not to vote during the December 12 referendum for the draft of the new constitution of the Russian Federation as a whole. Such practices, used during the election campaign, contradict both the status of the election blocs and the status of candidates to the Federal Assembly—parliament of the Russian Federation.

"The 'Statute of Federal Bodies of Power for the Transitional Period' is an act that lays down the legal status of the two houses of the Federal Assembly, which are to be elected on December 12, 1993. It was endorsed by Presidential Decree No. 1400 on September 21, 1993, with subsequent amendments and supplements. The functions and powers of the Council of the Federation and the State Duma, laid down by the foregoing statute, are in the main identical to the functions and powers of the two chambers of the Federal Assembly, stipulated by the draft constitution of the Russian Federation (Article 94-109), which is being put to the referendum.

"An election bloc's or individual candidate's participation in the parliamentary elections means that they have assumed a commitment to the electorate to honour both the statute of federal bodies of power for the transitional period and the corresponding articles of the draft constitution relating to the parliament.

"Since the election blocs and individual candidates had recognised the given legal status of the Council of the Federation and the State Duma, they were allowed to collect voters' signatures in support of corresponding blocs and candidates and were registered by the Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation. A written consent given by each candidate to run for elections to one of the chambers of the Federal Assembly serves as official confirmation of his acceptance both of the election rules and the statutes on the basis of which the body to which he will be elected shall function.

"Election blocs and candidates, registered after they collect the necessary number of votes, have thereby self-restricted in face of the electorate their right to reject the draft of the new constitution, laying down the status of the future parliament. However, no political parties or blocs, as well as individual citizens, shall be deprived of the right to campaign against the draft constitution, including the articles on the parliament. As to the election blocs and candidates, they will be free to exercise this right if they annul the registration of their blocs and candidatures at the central election commission.

"Hence, it follows that the calls of officially registered election blocs and individual candidates to vote against the draft constitution as a whole, including Articles 94-109, as well as other articles of the draft, referring to the status of the future parliament, are, in fact, intended to distort the will of the electors, which they have expressed during the collection of signatures and is essentially tantamount to a public refusal of a bloc or candidate to run for elections to the given Council of the Federation, the given State Duma. Moreover, such a refusal of a candidate to honour his commitments may be assessed as an outright deceit of the electorate.

"Agitation by individual candidates to vote for their membership in the given parliament and calls by the selfsame candidates to cast ballots against this same parliament are incompatible."

Voting Instructions To Be Broadcast

LD2811101493 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0430 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] The Central Electoral Commission has formulated explanations of procedures for filling in ballots for electing deputies to the Federation Council and the State Duma and ballots for the nationwide vote on the draft constitution.

The editorial office of the SUBJECTS OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION federation-wide newspaper will publish these explanations once before 30 November and once in its final issue, which will be released on voting day. Contents of the document will be broadcast on radio on 28 November and on 5 and 11 December from 0800 to 1300 [0500 to 1000 GMT] and 1900 to 2200 [1600 to 1900 GMT], and on 12 December, voting day, from 0600 to 0800 [0300 to 0500 GMT]. You can get it on TV on 28 November and 11 December from 1900 to 2200 [1600 to 1900 GMT] and on 12 December from 0600 to 0800 [0300 to 0500 GMT].

Arbitration Court Condemns Candidates' Behavior

LD2611182293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Arbitration Court discussed for several hours today the most acute conflict, perhaps, to emerge during the election campaign between the blocs and movements allowed to take part in the 12 December elections.

[Correspondent Vladimir Belyayev] The Central Electoral Commission and the Arbitration Court called for proper methods of campaigning. Their members believe that in their televized addresses some candidates to the State Duma

from political associations have broken ethical norms. The Arbitration Court noted in the recommendations adopted that speaking on Ostankino TV Nikolay Travkin, leader of the Democratic Party, made several insulting remarks about Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. The chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party was quick to retaliate by making abusive statements about Travkin. The court noted that film-maker Stanislav Govorukhin, another leader of the Democratic Party, made a number of insulting unsubstantiated statements about Yegor Gaydar, leader of the Russia's Choice bloc. In the judges' view, Govorukhin made several rude remarks on the draft Constitution and used free air time to advertise his new film.

The Arbitration Information Court warned all candidates that if these and similar violations of rules for the election campaign occur again relevant documents will be sent to the parliament's Mandate Commission, if they are elected to the Federal Assembly, to assess the ways their election campaign was conducted. The Arbitration Court recommended political associations and managers of television companies to make use of such forms of election campaign as television debates and roundtables and to enhance the role of the television presenter who could stop unethical pronouncements.

Candidates Warned To Tone Down Public Bickering

PM2911112593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Robert Minasov report: "Do Not Demean Yourselves With Abuse"]

[Text] A routine session of the Information Arbitration Court was held yesterday, 26 November.

There was an emotional discussion of a delicate question which can be simply formulated—what can and cannot be done by those who have for many evenings now been taking up our time on the TV screen?

Prefacing the discussion, Anatoliy Vengerov, chairman of the Information Arbitration Court, explained that the court is not only entitled to examine complaints but can also take the initiative itself and assess mass media coverage of the election campaign and its content.

In this context, Vengerov stressed, the court has been forced to state that instances of direct violation of legal and ethical norms have been occurring.

His recommendation, adopted unanimously by the entire court, cited certain instances of the airwaves' being used for inappropriate purposes. Nikolay Travkin had spoken out sharply about Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. The Liberal Democratic Party leader had lost his cool and attacked Travkin. And there was Stanislav Govorukhin's entirely groundless assertion that Yegor Gaydar had removed astronomical sums from the Central Bank of Russia on the night of 3-4 October. He had also indulged in some crude criticism of the draft new Constitution.

The court's recommendation notes that criticism of the Constitution is not forbidden, but it should be constructive and, above all, well-founded.

The Information Arbitration Court warned Travkin, Zhirinovskiy, and Govorukhin that, in the event of any repetition of their actions, the court would send materials to the future parliament's credentials commission for it to consider whether the deputies had lived up to their mandate.

Television and radio companies have been instructed to vary their broadcasts and to step up the role of TV anchors.

Further on 'Bad Campaigners'

PM2911121793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report: "The Central Electoral Commission and the Arbitration Tribunal Try To Investigate 'Bad' Campaigners"]

[Text] The judges themselves received the text of the "joint"-statement by the Central Electoral Commission [CEC] and the Information Arbitration Tribunal one hour before the start of the 25 November session, while the members of the CEC did so immediately before the discussion of the draft. The contents of the agenda proved still more unknown to the invited representatives of parties and blocs, not to mention the large press contingent.

It is possible that the fact that the draft was prepared deep within the CEC, in lobbies and in the apparatus, was the reason why A. Vengerov, chairman of the Arbitration Tribunal, while agreeing that violations of election campaigning norms really do exist, perceived merely general appeals in the statement—"Let us live peaceably and behave well." He invited everyone to a session of the Arbitration Tribunal which would make juridical assessments of specific violations and propose new measures in accordance with the tribunal's powers.

The debate between the interested sides centered on CEC Chairman N. Ryabov. He said that the draft statement was a reaction to the general background of the campaign and that the CEC's telephones were "red-hot" from voters' protests "against coercion by politicians." Before "the matter goes too far," it is necessary to investigate this, particularly the use of free television airtime by candidates for parties and blocs.

The very first days of campaigning have shown, Ryabov said, that electoral associations are ignoring the president's edict on information guarantees, which prohibits devoting the majority of free airtime to criticism of opponents. He emphasized that the CEC and the Arbitration Tribunal will monitor compliance with legality and also will not "close their eyes" to the fact that individual candidates, blocs, and parties are using it "exclusively to campaign against the draft Constitution."

Responding to a timid question from S. Podgorbunskiy, director of the "Rossiya" television channel—what sanctions can be applied to violators of paid television airtime who have chosen, moreover, the form of exclusive personal promises to voters?—Ryabov replied laconically: "You have the right to take the program off the air, having apologized to viewers." He advised warning violators that they will be "cut off" in the contracts which are being concluded. But if electoral associations perceive this as a violation of their rights, let them turn to the tribunal.

Such recommendations elicited a storm of indignation from the representatives of parties and blocs. V. Zhirinovskiy compared this sanction with a demand that boxers "stroke each other in the ring." In the opinion of the leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, it is not up to the CEC and the Arbitration Tribunal to assess the content of programs on the air: "The judges are voters." Why must he attend the session in what sees as the incomprehensible role of "someone guilty of something," when the voters are awaiting him at this time: "I campaign, on the contrary, for the draft Constitution." As for the right to monologues, "we, the electoral associations, have it now, while journalists will have 'freedom' for a whole four years after the elections."

V. Kuptsov, representative of the Communist Party, also joined in the argument, declaring that the Communists, as an opposition party, do not conceal their rejection of the new Constitution, oppose it, and regard such recommendations as political pressure. I. Yakovenko, speaking for the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin" bloc, declared that 100,000 voters' signatures give candidates the right to speak freely. He asked his own question: "Why, of the 13 blocs and parties, have we alone, representatives of four associations, been invited here—have we done something wrong?"

Ryabov "withstood everything," said that they had invited everyone, emphasized that the discussion of the draft statement must be regarded "as a first step," and reminded them once again that the use of free airtime for exclusive campaigning against the Constitution will be considered "a candidate's use of his official position."

Zyuganov Supports Call For 'More Civilized' Campaigning

LD2611202893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Gennadiy Zyuganov, leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, "agrees completely" with the verbal commitment made by leaders of electoral blocs and groups Friday at their meeting with President Boris Yeltsin to campaign in a more civilized manner, especially as far as television and radio addresses are concerned.

Zyuganov told INTERFAX on the same day that it was not true that if the constitution is rejected by a majority of the electorate, the new Russian parliament will be illegitimate. "If so, whatever is going on now is illegitimate because it is done by the president's decrees, not by a constitution," the Russian communist leader said.

Ruling Issued on Permissible Limits on Campaigning

LD2711180693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in Russian 1607 GMMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—The Central Electoral Commission for the elections to Russia's new parliament and the Court of Information Arbitration issued a statement on Saturday concerning the form of presentation and the content of information connected with election campaigning.

The statement draws the attention of election blocs and candidates to the Federal Assembly, Russia's new parliament, to the "unconditional inadmissibility of the use of the election campaign and propaganda for or against the draft constitution submitted to the nation-wide poll in order to issue calls for overthrowing power or changing the constitutional system and integrity of the Russian federation by force, fomenting ethnic and religious hatred and animosity in all forms and manifestations, advocating a civil war and all forms of violence, disclosing information which is considered state or other law-protected secrets, as well as violating the legislation of the Russian Federation. Also inadmissible is propaganda connected with the calls for violating generally accepted norms of international law, including those concerning relations of the Russian Federation with foreign states."

The statement stressed that a candidate or representative of an election bloc "should devote the bulk of his speech to announcing his own election platform. Criticism of election platforms of other candidates or election blocs should not be the main point of the speech.

"If a candidate or representative of an election bloc violates the requirements envisaged by the legislation of the Russian Federation, measures will be taken to prevent unlawful activities.

"The Central Electoral Commission of the Russian Federation and the Court of Information Arbitration call on all election blocs and candidates to the Federal Assembly to help promote accord in society during the election campaign. This will serve the interests of the state and every citizen irrespective of what election bloc or candidate he/she will vote for," the statement said.

Campaign Broadcasts Seen as Turn-Off to Viewers

PM2911124193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Nov 93 First Edition p 12

[Article by critic Yuriy Bogomolov: "What Politicians Are Capable of As Authors of Self-Publicity"]

[Text] Agafya Tikhonovna: It really is so difficult to choose! ("Marriage," Nikolay Gogol).

Let us take a look at the candidates' programs. Not the socioeconomic ones this time. The television programs. The ones which have been compiled, directed, and edited by the candidates and blocs at their own expense.

We already know what kind of politicians television journalists make. We will find out over the next three weeks what politicians are capable of as clip-makers. Political self-publicity is something new to us. But experience does exist. It is possible to proceed to classifying self-publicity and to tackle the typology of political narcissism. The suitors from "Civic Union" appeared most artless. Following Arkadiy Volskiy, Aleksandr Vladislavlev was unable to think of any better way of speaking "briefly." For some 30 minutes. With a live report.

A report is an effective form of mass communication, on one condition: If, given all the wealth of choice, there is no alternative to the person giving the report. Neither in life nor on the air. Today such communication has no prospects. But it is not devoid of substance—it betrays the candidates' Soviet nomenklatura origins.

The "New Names" proved more inventive. Although not much more: They delivered reports outside—in the shop of some enterprise. To this they added interviews with female workers who sympathize with the bloc. The names are new, but the propaganda habits are recognizable.

Zhirinovskiy let well alone. He is not Treplev and does not need new forms. He himself is the form. He is one of those variety performers who will never tire of repeating the same old act. He has a rival on the concert stage—Gennadiy Khazanov. But on the political stage he is in a league of his own. Therefore he acts perfectly correctly by focusing everything on himself—from the name of newspapers (PRAVDA ZHIRINOVSKOGO, SOKOLY ZHIRINOVSKOGO [Zhirinovskiy Truth, Zhirinovskiy Falcons]) to the lenses of television and movie cameras.

Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, does not have the natural qualities and abilities of Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy]. He is not a self-promoting person, i.e. he is not very expressive. Therefore he cannot afford the luxury of speaking just the way he is, outside of some dramatic form. This was created for him in the program "Around the Kremlin," in which the aspirant answered viewers' questions which were read out by the journalist Andrey Karaulov in the presence of "Vesti's" likable Arina Sharapova.

If we omit all the details of the 30-minute conversation, the viewer will be left with a residual impression of him as a man familiar with storms at sea and capable of managing an entire department single-handed.

The political look of "Russia's Choice" was decided as in the documentary feature cinema. First the theme of alarm: swarming clouds, which rays of sunlight penetrate with difficulty. Then the motif of resurrection: a close-up of an icon and a song-incantation by Aleksandr Malinin against a backdrop of the burning White House. On the rostrum Gaydar, Pamfilova, and a parade of artistes from Malikov to Magomayev. It all ended with them singing "Russia Has Risen" to the words of Voznesenskiy and with the slogan "Your Choice Is Russia's Choice." It turned out a parable of rebirth. As an epic poem it is too fleeting, but as a clip it is too protracted.

The production put on by the Democratic Party of Russia appeared preferable in this respect. Nikolay Travkin posed beside the Russian flag. Stanislav Govorukhin against a backdrop of church domes, first full face and then in profile; the economist Oleg Bogomolov at a writing desk. This simple design was crowned with the phrase: "Better with us." It has to be admitted that from the viewpoint of publicity technique and strategy such a move during preelection airtime appears most effective. It reminds you of the contrivances of the firm "Seldom." Our publicity is not simple but very simple. Today all party propagandists and narcissists [nartsissmeny] may already realize that their orientation both to a poetic style of reporting and to Fellini's aesthetics is incapable of yielding any dividends. The masterpieces of commercial advertising—these are the models to be imitated by those who are obsessed with the idea of getting into the Duma.

But, in general, the television viewer is not in the mood for jokes. There was a new splurge of political advertising on our screens this week. It was mixed up with commercial advertising. We are observing an unlikely mixed bag on the air: Investment funds, banks, blocs, and parties will come at us like a solid wall....

It will end as in Gogol: The angry public will say, like Agafya Tikhonovna to the suitors crowding in on her: "Go away, fools!"

Volskiy Holds Press Conference on Economic Program

MK2611103093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 83, 25 Nov 93 (Signed to press 24 Nov) p 2

[Yuliya Salnikova, Vladimir Todres report under the "Campaign" rubric: "'Do Not Accuse Us of Being Anti-Reformist!' 'Civic Union' Promises To Save Commodity Producers"]

[Text] Arkadiy Volskiy, leader of the "Civic Union for Stability, Justice, and Progress," at a press conference on Wednesday, singled out the high points of an economic program drawn up for Civic Union by the "Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs." In the process, Mr. Volskiy recognized that "writing a program does not take much wisdom" and that "anybody in the government with at least a little understanding of what is written there" would come to share the key idea detailed in the program—the need for support of Russian entrepreneurship.

What is written there is basically the same as always appears in Civic Union documents. Volskiy declared: He was prepared to swear "on the Bible, Koran, or Torah"

that he was not calling for reviving Gosplan [State Planning Commission] or Gossnab [State Committee for Material and Technical Supply], but he was not renouncing the idea of state regulation of the economy "if it is sensible." Andrey Neshchadin, chief economic analyst of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, formulated the gist of the program: "The time for radical solutions ended with the coming of the edict on land. Painstaking work now begins whose core will not be monetary methods but structural reform. Financial stabilization is of course achievable, but who needs it in an economic graveyard?"

Mr. Neshchadin focused on the need for state investments (credits and subsidies, that is) for "Russia's commodity producers regardless of forms of ownership." Arkadiy Volskiy also referred to President Roosevelt, who during the Great Depression in the United States, in Volskiy's words, "closed down all the banks for auditing following which hardly a third of them could reopen." "I would do the same with pleasure!" declared the Civic Union leader.

Should the Civic Union program fail to form the basis for the country's economic policy, inflation, he promised, "would explode to reach 70 percent a month" at the end of this year or the beginning of next year. Responding to a remark that just a day before, Yegor Gaydar painted a similar prospect—but if Civic Union wins—Mr. Volskiy suggested that "Gaydar together with Fedorov be put on a plane and sent to China for a week or two—not forever—to do a bit of studying."

Agrarian Party Representatives Outline Priorities

LD2711015293

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1545 GMT on 26 November, in its "Federal Assembly" election program, features a 20-minute interview with Russian Agrarian Russia representatives. Agrarian Party representatives Aleksandr Davydov, chairman of the central committee of the trade union of workers of the agro-industrial complex; Igor Klochkov, former chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia; and Vasiliy Vershinin, the former chairman of a collective farm, are interviewed in the studio.

They explain that the party's objective is to have an agrarian lobby in parliament to represent the interests of the agricultural workers. Davydov explains the difference between the Agrarian Party and the Peasants' Party. He says: "We should not be mixed up with the Peasants' Party led by journalist Yuriy Chernichenko. He is a man of extremist orientation. He is in favor of land being distributed to all and not to those who are working on it. He is in favor of dissolving collective and state farms. On the contrary, we are in favor of a mixed economy. He is in favor of private farms only. We are against debasing the idea. Our party advocates creating necessary conditions for the farmers. What do I mean here? To give farmers preferential credits as the initial capital and to organize the production of small-size equipment so that farmers can demonstrate what they are capable of."

Davydov continues: "Some regard our party as being in opposition to the government. In fact, this is not true. We are for the reforms which the government intends to implement. But we are against the methods by which the reforms are being carried out. We are against permanent shocks without therapy."

Klochkov states: "The concern of feeding people has always been the main Russian concern and the main Russian problem. Without resolving it, no political promises and no plans will work and we will never create a great Russia. The agrarian issue is a key issue and there are no simple solutions here."

Vershinin argues: "Russian peasants are not happy with what is happening in agriculture at present. Why is that? Essentially, peasants are remote from politics. They do not care who is ruling—the president, first secretary, or tsar. They want one thing—give them an opportunity to work on land and to feed the citizens of our country. The can't do this today. The Russian Agrarian Party expresses the interests of the peasants."

Women's Group, Shakhray on Election Programs

LD2711085093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1645 GMT on 26 November broadcasts a 60-minute program entitled the "Hour of the Voter," which is devoted to the political campaigns of three parties—the Women of Russia political movement, the Russian Unity and Accord Party, and the Agrarian Party of Russia. The Women of Russia political movement is presented by two representatives of this organization—Alevtina Fedulova and Yekaterina Lakhova. They tell the viewers about themselves and then try to explain the aims of their organization and why they decided to set up such a movement.

Alevtina Fedulova say: "We are completely against a policy based on sexual premise. But it so happens in our state that for many years policy has been formed only by men. Of course, some people would say that there were women in parliament. Yes, there were, but they were some kind of decoration, they were just the background."

Yekaterina Lakhova then speaks about the last data on the population of Russia, which is decreasing, about the increase in children's crime, and the problems of environment. She says that women should do everything possible to overcome the crisis. In conclusion she says:

"Of course, all our problems are the problems which everybody in our country is facing now, but it is very important for us to separate all these problems. We should know what the state will do and what regions will

do in this or that respect." Yekaterina Lakhova also reads some verses about women of Russia written by Russian women.

The Russian Unity and Accord Party is next. Sergey Shakhray is present. He says: "I will not campaign today to vote for Shakhray or to join the Russian Unity and Accord Party. That is to say, there will be no election topics today. I would like to say this at once. But I have some personal interests in this meeting, or it would be better to say that I have two interests. The first is connected with my position, because I am dealing with the problems of nationalities. The State Committee for federation and Nationalities Affairs is now facing the problems of culture, the Russian culture, the culture of our 150 peoples and nationalities. We are forced to face these problems because it is impossible to solve conflicts by using weapons. The second personal interest is the following. When I have a practical task as the head of the State Committee for Nationalities, I prefer to solve the problems by restoring culture internally. I am sure that Russia will always be rich in talents."

Shakhray is followed by a series of artists, cultural figures, and scientists, who express their views on the cultural and scientific problems in Russia and how they should be solved.

In conclusion Sergey Shakhray says: "I think that financing of culture and education is the best investment for the nation because it will be rewarded, and very quickly rewarded."

The Agrarian Party of Russia is represented by Party Chairman Mikhail Lapshin. He begins by explaining the aims of his party. He speaks about the popularity of the party which represents agricultural workers and about the situation in the economy in Russia. He criticizes the economic policy of the present Russian Government, especially in agriculture. Then he tells the viewers about himself and answers some questions which have been sent to him by supporters of his party.

In conclusion he says: "I would like to say once again that there will be no prosperity in Russia without the rebirth of a Russian village, which is a source of our Russian nation, a source of life, a source of culture, morality, and health. If a village is revived, if it is restored, the great Russia will be revived, too."

Zhirinovskiy, Civic Union Present Election Broadcasts

LD2711101993

[Editorial Report] Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1855 GMT on 26 November broadcasts a 23-minute regular commercial pre-election slot entitled A Word to the Voter, which presents the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia and the Civic Union.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party, tells the viewers about his proposed movements in the next few days of the election campaign. He says: "This morning a meeting took place, which may be called historic—for the first time the Russian president held a meeting with representatives of different political parties. The multi-party system, which has already become part of our reality, has demonstrated that the country really needs it." He says the participants in the meeting agreed that it should be clearly indicated on the ballot papers which party each candidate belongs to.

He continues: "I should like to explain once more our party's stance on the Constitution, because some people may have misunderstood us. We call for voting in favor of the Constitution as a legal document, without which it is impossible to go any further. The old constitution is dead, it no longer exists. We cannot live without a constitution. In Russian, constitution means a state's basic law. If there is no basic law, it is impossible to improve the rest of the legislation. Everything will come to a standstill without it; and if you do not like some of its articles, it is your right to demand their improvement."

As an illustration, he says that his party disagrees with the principle of private ownership of land, as recorded in the new basic law—the LDP is convinced that the right to use land could be sold but not land itself.

Urging once again that the new constitution should be adopted on 12 December, he says: "Imagine what happens if we reject the Constitution. Then the elections to the State Duma will become a pointless exercise because the new parliament is part of the new Constitution. If there is no new constitution, then the parliament we are about to elect on 12 December will also be non-existent. This simply means that we shall be left without any bodies of legislative power. Anything you are dissatisfied with, anything you want to fight against in the future, this fight will only become possible within the framework of a new parliament."

He says that later in the evening he wwill be speaking on Russian television about young people's issues and matters of political and sexual morality.

At 1909 GMT, the familiar election advert of Russia's Choice is broadcast. It is followed by the election advert of the Democratic Party of Russia.

Vladimir Ispravnikov then introduces the Civic Union bloc. He says that the economic program of his bloc was published in the 19 November 1993 issue of RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA. He describes the social basis of his association thus:

"The Civic Union reflects the interests of industrialists in this country, of the local producers of goods, and of the Russian technical and industrial intelligentsia, which finds itself today in a very difficult situation, in a state of crisis. I am not giving you bare figures when I say that in

the lists of our election bloc that 78 percent of people are involved in practical work, in the day to day running of the economy."

He says Russia is confronted with a choice: Whether to become increasingly dependent on the developed countries or to rely more on local producers: "The program of the Civic Union is resolutely oriented toward this latter course—that of giving priority to the local producers and taking into account their interests," Ispravnikov stresses.

At 1920 GMT, an election advertisement of the Civic Union is shown, and then the DPR advert is repeated.

Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2035 GMT on 26 November broadcasts a 30-minute election program by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, who uses the 30-minute paid election slot to address young people.

Appealing to them, Zhirinovskiy draws parallels between Russian history and sexual experience. According to him, the 1917 October Revolution was a rape when bolsheviks came into power during the night by using violence. He continues:

"The next stage, the Stalin period, was a period when members of a party were being eliminated by that same party. It was not a struggle between two or three parties, there was just the single party which Stalin depended on. And the best members of the party were being eliminated. Compared with sexual morality, this reminds one of the problem of homosexuality, where there are relationships between representatives of the same sex.

"Let's take another period, the Khrushchev period. It was different from Stalin's period. He was always smiling, he was always happy and pleased. But, mostly, he alone. As for our people, we did not feel any pleasure. One can compare this with the problem of masturbation when a person satisfies himself alone."

As for the period of Brezhnev, Chernenko and Gorbachev, according to Zhirinovskiy, "it was a time of political impotence. They wanted to perform but they could not. They proposed things but they could not achieve anything, just as in the case of physical impotence."

During his speech, Zhirinovskiy concentrates on sexual education, on various sexual experiences, and sexual minorities.

With regard to his political credo, Zhirinovskiy says: "We should have pluralism in everything, first and foremost in political democracy. Therefore, on 12 December we should elect a multi-party parliament. If there is only one political party, then yet again we will move toward an abyss. Yet again, a disaster will lie ahead. There should be a multi-party system. Even if one does not like a particular party, one should try to ensure that there are three or four factions in the parliament."

In conclusion, Zhirinovskiy invites the viewers to attend his party's rally in Sokolniki park at 1400 on 27 November.

Zhirinovskiy's Politics Viewed

PM2611160593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 93 First Edition p 1

[Yuriy Feofanov article: "Messrs. Zhirinovskiy and Govorukhin Take Voters for Complete Idiots"]

[Text] On the evening of 24 November two parties which aspire to power—Zhirinovskiy's LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] and Travkin's Democratic Party of Russia—bombarded voters with their "programs" almost simultaneously on two television channels. The previous day these leaders had made their bids, as it were. Nikolay Ilich [Travkin] had slung mud at all his rivals, and Vladimir Volfovich [Zhirinovskiy] had promised a great number of all sorts of blessings which would be realized without delay, as early as 13 December; if, of course, on the 12th the voters place their crosses on the ballot papers where the LDPR leader indicated.

Sensible people cannot fail to realize that the promise to index investments the very next day, to leave not one of 200,000 officers without apartments in six months' time, and to provide an abundance of cheap vodka is completely absurd. But it is pleasant to hear it. We would very much like this to happen.

The speakers' intention is as clear as clear can be: to promise without restraint and to carp shamelessly. In other words, to take voters for some kind of idiots. In this sense it is interesting to compare the speeches of two of Travkin's associates—Sergey Glazyev and Stanislav Govorukhin. Glazyev expounded his party's "economic program" on the Russian channel—it was an inexpressive report. In "Voter's Hour," on the other hand, Stanislav Govorukhin leveled such accusatory lies at the present "dictatorial regime" that, if the regime really were dictatorial, I would like to know where Mr. Govorukhin would be now. Without any grounds whatever the popular movie director and candidate deputy called the future constitution "bloody"; he declared that the existing power consciously relies on criminal elements, is criminal itself, and wants to make the state criminal. But this, you know, is nothing but a direct appeal for the overthrow of the existing system. This is being broadcast by someone who has joined in the election struggle within the framework of the state which he openly calls criminal. According to all legal yardsticks, such a statement is a crime—a call to turn the economic reforms and the election campaign into a civil war on social grounds.

Incidentally, this appeal—to turn the present lean peace within the CIS framework into a civil war—was also heard quite candidly in Zhirinovskiy's second evening speech. This time on interethnic grounds. After declaring that he would devote his speech to the Cossacks, Zhirinovskiy in fact called for the elimination of all sovereign states which have already become UN members. Yes, the

position of Russians in the former fraternal republics is difficult. But is this reason to insult the president of the state of Kazakhstan?

Vladimir Volfovich has long been persistently banging his own drum with oratorical brilliance, trying to din soothing themes into people: He really will suddenly index things, make them cheaper, and extol them. People know—cannot fail to know—that all this is populist exercises. But they would very much like to believe even in the impossible....

In his speech Govorukhin accused the present authorities of bolshevism. Alas, his movie, fragments of which he showed, and his calls for the overthrow of the "criminal state" constitute bolshevism of the first water. Zhirinovskiy plays as his trump card the fact that he never sullied himself with communist doctrines, but he is a pure bolshevik.

As is known, the former name of the CPSU was the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks). Communist ideas in a pure form vanished from party practice under Lenin and Stalin. What peace was there for the peoples, what "land for the peasants and bread for the hungry"? All this disappeared right after the seizure of power. The letter inside the parentheses—bolshevism—remained unshakable and unchanged. This even remained when the party changed its mask. It remains with the present aspirants. However much Zhirinovskiy and Govorukhin disown the communist idea, the core of bolshevism remains. It is not that hard to think up programs, to alter them and turn them inside out. The aspirants to power have not been delivered from bolshevism as a method of coming to power.

The election debates are now in full swing. Politicians try to winkle out our votes, like businessmen winkling out vouchers. Look, listen, and believe or do not believe the programs and promises. But do not forget that Zhirinovskiy, though he may be three times a "liberal" and four times a "democrat," is essentially a bolshevik. Like Stanislav Govorukhin. The color is not important, for the fuehrer was a fervent anticommunist but a 100-percent bolshevik. The defunct Supreme Soviet was not red or brown—it was bolshevik. It was its bolshevism that led to the tragedy of 3-4 October. The tragedy will definitely repeat itself if we fail to discern the "little letter in parentheses" on the ballot paper and place our cross where Mr. Zhirinovskiy indicated.

Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc Policy Outlined

PM2911114793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Interview with V.N. Lysenko, cochairman of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation and member of the Russian Federation President's Legislative Proposals Commission, by Aleksandr Aleshkin; place and date not given: " 'Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc' Defines Its Position Among the Radicals"]

[Text] One of the electoral associations campaigning for seats in the State Duma is the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc." It was set up by the Russian Christian Democratic Alliance Party-New Democracy, the Republican Party of the Russian Federation, and the Social Democratic Party of the Russian Federation. The association has nominated 172 candidates for the federal electoral district and 138 people to run in territorial districts.

Our correspondent discussed the association's program and tactical provisions with V.N. Lysenko, cochairman of the Republican Party of the Russian Federation and member of the Russian Federation President's Legislative Proposals Commission.

[Aleshkin] Vladimir Nikolayevich, first and foremost, just what is your electoral association?

[Lysenko] Three parties and three famous political figures have united in a single bloc on the basis of the similarity or proximity of their positions with regard to the economic and political reforms in the state. We support the democratic reform course, but we reject the means and methods by which it is being implemented.

First a few words about our bloc partners. The Christian Democrats are a still young and small organization, they are at the stage of formation. The Social Democrats—like the Republicans—already have a three-year history behind them. In a number of regions they have their own structures. But the process of forming the party is still not complete. It has been through several splits. In particular, Oleg Rumyantsev recently left it.

The Republican Party forms the backbone of the bloc. It has its own branches in 65 Russian Federation components. It has supplied two-thirds of the candidate deputies in the regional part of the federal list. Of the 170,000 voters' signatures collected by the bloc at the first stage of the elections, 110,000 were collected by the Republicans.

[Aleshkin] From what kind of voters are you hoping for support?

[Lysenko] From all sorts. Our party's activists comprise people who can be said to come from the entire social spectrum—from workers to scientists dealing with questions of state building. We have good positions in the Kuzbass and Vorkuta.

We believe that we have the support of a considerable number of small and medium-sized entrepreneurs. They see our bloc as a political force capable of creating the conditions for the accelerated development of small and medium-sized business and for private ownership in the interests of most of the population rather than just a select group.

The bloc has a lot of supporters in the national republics. The Republican Party's regional organizations operate in Dagestan, North Ossetia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Tatarstan, and other republics. Many of the Federation's peoples are impressed by the nationalities policy which

we are pursuing, and that is why we expect them to support our bloc at the election.

[Aleshkin] But aren't you deluding yourself when you talk about support for the bloc in the national republics? After all, you support the idea of a united Russia, but in certain republics separatist sentiments are even stronger.

[Lysenko] I think that the peoples of the Federation have already overcome that affliction to a considerable extent. They have seen for themselves—regrettably, through bloodshed, suffering, and destruction—that it is in our common interests to preserve Russia as a united, strong, federal state. The leaders calling for secession from the Federation are now losing their former prestige.

We have lived together for centuries. We will continue to live together in one big family.

[Aleshkin] Your bloc is one of many taking part in the election campaign. Their political aspirations are different and often diametrically opposed—some unconditionally support the president's policy, while others are implacably opposed to him. Which faction in the future parliament do you plan to join?

[Lysenko] We see three possible scenarios for the development of events in the future Duma. The first would be if "Russia's Choice" held a majority. It is quite likely that the government would then be headed by Yegor Gaydar.

The second would be if Communist deputies and associated political forces held a majority of seats in the Duma. This would be a continuation of the former parliament.

Our bloc favors the third option—whereby a majority is held by a bloc of democratically centrist political forces.

The country would then have a democratic, but more moderate government, which would would enter into agreement with different forces both within parliament itself and in society as a whole.

This moderate policy corresponds most of all to the task of our electoral bloc. That is the policy we will be pursuing.

[Aleshkin] What is your bloc's position on the adoption of the new Constitution?

[Lysenko] We have supporters and opponents of the adoption of the Constitution at the referendum. I personally advocate the adoption of the Constitution.

In this connection I would like to draw the attention of all political forces to the following fact. We can (and should!) argue about the different options for implementing economic and political reform. But there is one common, supreme value—Russia.

Everyone should recognize that if a new Constitution is adopted and if a strong central authority emerges then we will preserve our country for our descendants.

In conclusion, I would like to give voters some information. In accordance with Article 25 of the "Statutes on the Election of State Duma Deputies in 1993," the Central Electoral Commission has excluded Yuriy Yuryevich Boldyrev from the federal list of State Duma candidate deputies from the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc" electoral association on the basis of his personal statement of 15 November and the decision of the electoral association's council of 17 November.

At the decision of the electoral association's council Yuriy Boldyrev will run for the Federation Council in St. Petersburg.

The name of the electoral association remains, as before, the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc." [Lysenko ends]

The following are the main provisions of the election program of the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc."

Economy

"We believe that a purposeful reform program is needed—we must take a tough line on destroying monopolies as quickly as possible, we must provide comprehensive protection and support for competition, create conditions for cautious and uncoerced land reform, streamline and clarify ownership relations, and substantially expand the scale of the private sector of the economy."

Politics

"Consistently defending democratic values, we advocate the restoration of the institutions of representative authority at all levels, the placing of the executive within a rule-of-law, constitutional framework, independent courts, and a real separation of powers that will merit the people's trust."

The Federation

"We advocate a constitutional rather than a treaty-based Federation. The unity of Russia is our abiding principle. It cannot be called into question either by a vote in parliament or even by a referendum on certain of its territories. We are opposed to enshrining the right of secession from the Federation in the constitutions of the Russian Federation and its territories. The uniformity of the budget relationship between Moscow and the regions, and the priority of federal legislation, are the fundamental principles of the federal system."

ITAR-TASS Views Election Prospects of Parties

LD2711174193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1545 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Aleksandrova: "Election Campaign in Russia - Analysis"]

[Text] Moscow November 27 Tass—The ability of centrist blocs and parties to win the voters round will be

crucial for the balance of forces in Russia's future parliament where they will play the role of the arbiter as neither the left nor the right are likely to gain 50 per cent of votes.

Many predict that the centrist parties will fail at the upcoming parliamentary elections scheduled for December 12. In fact the October revolt in Moscow on October 3-4 has drastically radicalised the country's political life and given a boost to "extreme" trends, on the one hand, and undermined the positions of the Civic Union, on the other hand. Public opinion polls taken last summer revealed a generally favourable attitude towards the Civic Union and its member-organisations—the Free Russia People's Party and the Democratic Party of Russia.

But the situation has changed since then. Nevertheless, centrist parties have not lost their electorate altogether, though their chances are now slimmer than six months ago.

The increasingly growing number of politicians and party leaders claim to have centrist views. However out of 13 election blocs officially allowed to participate in the election campaign in Russia only three are truly centrist. These are the Civic Union for Stability, Justice and Progress, the Democratic Party of Russia and the association the Future of Russia—New Names. The Yavlinskiy- Boldyrev-Lukin bloc could be included in this group, though with certain reservations, but one can hardly call the party of Russian Unity and Accord a centrist bloc.

As for the bloc the Future of Russia—New Names, it was set up largely by former members of the Civic Union when they feared that the bloc would not be allowed to stand the elections. However it has no more or less noticeable leaders. Considering the fact that the elections will be a "struggle of people, rather then ideas," the bloc has practically no chances of passing the five per cent barrier to secure itself seats in the future parliament.

The Civic Union led by Arkadiy Volskiy and the Democratic Party of Russia led by Nikolay Travkin are most likely to win seats in the State Duma, the lower house of the new parliament.

What are their political programmes, the electorate and chances for success? There are no big differences between the programmes of the two blocs. Both favour gradual reforms and state regulation of the country's transition to a market economy, they call for support for domestic manufacturers and denounce Yegor Gaydar's "shock therapy."

Travkin's party was among the founders of the former Civic Union and stayed with the bloc until the summer 1993. The decision to secede was caused by Travkin's personal ambitions and purely tactical considerations. Party leaders were sure that they will be able to win more votes if they leave the Civic Union. Polls show that the party can count on 7-8 per cent of votes. It has a ramified regional network and keeps offices in the majority of Russian regions, as well as a well-functioning party apparatus. The party leaders include well known Nikolay Travkin, film director Stanislav Govorukhin and academician Oleg Bogomolov. The party is likely to win the votes of mostly small and medium-scale businesses.

It is hard to make forecasts for the Civic Union at this stage. Within the union the major driving force is the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs led by its president Arkadiy Volskiy, as well as the All-Russia Union Renovation, a party of "red directors," which has been set up on the union's basis.

The Civic Union hopes to get the votes of directors and workers of the military-industrial complex whose interests the union defends, as well as all supporters of the "Chinese variant" of economic reform, including Volskiy himself. The union pins hopes on large industrial centres and cities where most enterprises of the military-industrial complex are located. According to various estimates, the Civic Union may receive five to eight per cent of votes. Together with the Democratic Party of Russia, they may count on more than ten per cent. Among the union's potential allies in the State Duma are the Agrarian Party of Russia and, to a lesser degree, the Party of Russian Unity and Accord and the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc.

Voting in Elections Possible From 27 Nov

LD2611150593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1344 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow November 26 TASS—Voters who will not be at the places of their residence on December 12, the election day, have an opportunity to cast their ballots in advance, begining with Saturday. They can do so either on the premises of the district electoral commission (4 to 15 days ahead of the election) or on the premises of electoral Commision of the polling station (one or three days before the election). The secrecy of voting should be ensured.

Spokesman Fears Party Politics Will Prevail After Elections

LD2611202193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Russian presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov has voiced fears that after elections on December 12 Russia will have a parliament where common national interests are sacrificed to the narrow interests of political clubs. Stressing that it is his personal view, Kostikov said it was reaffirmed after President Yeltsin's meeting with the leaders of political blocs in the Kremlin on Friday.

Taking part were the heads of all 13 electoral associations eligible for elections, except Sergey Shakhray and

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy. The Russian Unity and Concord Party and Yavlinskiy's bloc were represented by their activists.

"Even now it is clear," Kostikov remarked, "that in the Federal Assembly the spirit of party struggle will prevail in detriment to common national interests and goals." At the same time, he regards the contestants desire to conduct the election campaign by more civilized methods as one of the chief results of the Kremlin meeting.

"I have received from all participants in today's conference their consent to tell journalists that they are ready to conduct the election campaign within the framework of high ethics", Kostikov said.

He stressed that none of the participants had voiced any complaint to the central election commission. In his words, the meeting with Yeltsin lasted one hour and forty minutes, even though it had been planned for only one hour.

Poll Shows Support for Russia's Choice Bloc Waning

LD2811140593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1259 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] The Russia's Choice bloc is still leading the parliamentary election campaign, but its rating is going down, according to an opinion poll taken in Moscow on November 25 by the Independent Institute of Sociology and Parliamentarianism headed by Nugzar Betaneli.

While 30 percent of Muscovites were ready to vote for the bloc on November 11 and 22 percent on November 18, only 20 percent were willing to do so on November 25.

The rating of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia, however, rose in the same period from two to six percent, that of the Democratic Party of Russia from four to eight percent.

The rating of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord went up from five to eight percent and nearly caught up with that of the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, which reached nine percent on November 25.

Admiral on Need for More Servicemen in State Duma

LD2611231193 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0425 GMT 26 Nov 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] Some 40 servicemen are standing in the elections as candidates to Russia's State Duma. This is less than one percent. This was reported in the Russian Federal Information Center. Is this good or bad? Here is the view of Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, former deputy to Russia's Supreme Soviet and former Commander in Chief of the Navy. By the way, he is standing as a candidate for the State Duma from the Civic Union bloc.

[Begin Chernavin recording] I would like to cite one example. Some time ago, the basic laws on the status of servicemen and pension provisions were adopted. But few people know with what difficulty these laws scraped through the Supreme Soviet. These laws were adopted as a result of military deputies carrying out a tremendous amount of work, explaining to all deputies what military service is, and why such large privileges are needed by these persons who have dedicated themselves to the profession of defending the homeland.

We are now discussing the fact that very few of the military are standing in the elections. From the point of view of servicemen, this is not the best option. It is not the best one, because of course, there must be representatives in parliament who have first- hand experience of what military service is and who must defend, protect, and advance the interests of our servicemen.

What will my functions be if I am elected to the State Duma? In the Civic Union I have been charged with working in the military area. I will be in charge of defense complex issues, defense industry issues, issues on the social protection of servicemen. I see participation in further work on the military doctrine as one of the great areas of my activity. There is a whole range of issues here that require more accurate definition and improvement, and which, it seems to me, have not been quite correctly and precisely formulated. For instance, I have my doubts that the Army or the Armed Forces are some kind of reserve of the militia when establishing some order inside the country. It looks as if this has not been correctly formulated. The Armed Forces should not be involved in suppressing various rallies and processions. The major job of a servicemen who is a member of the State Duma is dealing with issues of the social protection of servicemen. Well, for instance, today servicemen should be grateful to the Defense Ministry and the former parliament and our government that it is closely monitoring servicemen's pay and allowances but it would be totally incorrect to reduce everything to servicemen's wages however high. There is also the moral factor.

There are times today when servicemen are not protected. Having served there 15, 20, 25 years, he could find himself—just as today many servicemen find themselves—with a pension and nothing else. This does not tackle the question of his and his family's life. I believe that the deputy who gets into the State Duma must first and foremost work on these issues and uphold these positions in the State Duma, and, moreover, press home these positions. [end recording]

Interfax Offers List of State Duma Candidates

LD2611170993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Interfax has the list of registered candidates to the State Duma (the Lower House) of the Federal Assembly, the future parliament of the Russian Federation (in one-mandate districts).

One hundred ninety-three pages contain information about each of the nearly 600 candidates in 225 constituencies, and about the organizations and individuals they were nominated by. For instance, on page 34 it reads:

The Krasnoyarsk Region

Achinski district No. 46

1. Kurko Vasiliy Vasiliyevich. The Liberal Democratic Party of Russia. Born 15.07.63. Job: a bus driver at the Achinskiy aluminum complex.

On page 41:

The Khabarovskiy region

Komsomolsk-on-Amur district No. 57

1. Baryshev Vladimir Ivanovich, nominated by a group of voters. Born on 01.01.59. Job: private detective.

On page 192:

The Yamalo-Nenets autonomous region

Yamalo-Nenets district No. 225

5. Pushko Gennadiy Ivanovich. The Democratic Party of Russia. Born 01.01.52. Job: Urengoy governor

The set of materials costs 87,000 rubles. You may order your copy by calling 250-92-32 and may pick it up at Interfax Headquarters.

More Nominations of State Duma Candidate Deputies Announced

PM2911092593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 2

[Unattributed "Amplifications" to federal lists of State Duma candidate deputies under the general heading "In the Central Electoral Commission"]

[Text] We publish official amplifications to the federal lists of candidate deputies to the State Duma from electoral associations, as already published (ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 12 November 1993):

By decision of the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDRP] Higher Council, the following have been nominated as candidate deputies to the State Duma from the LDRP Electoral Association:

27. Churkin, Sergey Aleksandrovich, born 1956, mechanical engineer, leader of the LDRP Vologda City organization.

105. Reutov, Valeriy Nikolayevich, born 1950, institute lecturer, Vologda City.

139. Potapov, Sergey Vladislavovich, born 1969, historian, Irkutsk City.

On the basis of Protocol No. 5 of the 6 November 1993 session of plenipotentiary representatives of the Youth Movement in Support of the Free Russia People's Party and the "Civic Union" Political-Economic Association, the following has been nominated as candidate deputy to the State Duma from the "Russia's Future—New Names" Electoral Association:

22. Novosibirsk Oblast

53.5. Stepanov, Anatoliy Ivanovich, born 1969, systems engineer, Novosibirsk City.

On the basis of a decision by the "Russia's Choice" Electoral Association dated 6 November 1993, the following has been nominated as candidate deputy to the State Duma from the "Russia's Choice" Electoral Association:

Moscow Oblast

1.188. Yakunin, Gleb Pavlovich, born 1934, member of the Legislative Proposals Commission under the Russian Federation President, Moscow City.

On the basis of Protocol No. 3 of the 6 November 1993 session of the electoral association, the following have been nominated as [candidate] deputies to the State Duma from the "Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin Bloc" Electoral Association:

Novosibirsk Oblast:

1. Anufriyenko, Vladimir Feodosyevich, born 1936, member of the Russian Federation Social-Democratic Party, senior scientific associate, Novosibirsk City.

4. Guseynov, Rifat Akhmedovich, born 1946, professor, Novosibirsk City.

6. Mironova, Natalya Ivanovna, born 1946, consultant of the Chelyabinsk Oblast Administration Committee for Emergency Situation.

Regional Affairs

Gaydar Meets With Vorkuta Coal Miners

LD2711092593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0911 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Yezhov and Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta (Komi Republic) November 27 TASS—First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar, together with representatives from the city of Vorkuta and the Komi Republic, began a meeting with miners of the Pechora coal basin this morning. The meeting is being held behind closed doors.

The situation in vorkuta is coming to a head. Despite numerous promises from the government, miners have not fully received wages for September.

According to Vorkuta trade union leaders, the Russian Governmnent still owes to Vorkuta miners for September three billion roubles provided for by tariff contracts as subsidies, bonusus and other payments.

Organised labour continues preparations for a miners' strike which will start on December 1. ITAR-TASS learnt from Deputy Chairman of the Miners' Independent Trade Union (MITU) of Vorkuta Alekdandr Marmalyukov who participates in the talks, that the Vorkuta MITU council plans to hold an emergency meeting in the afternoon on Saturday.

The meeting will discuss miners' actions, depending on the results of the talks with Gaydar.

Pension Problem Solved

LD2711121493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1204 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Yezhov and Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Vorkuta (Komi Republic) November 27 TASS—One of the problems agitating Vorkuta miners was settled at a meeting between Russian Vice-premier Yegor Gaydar and their trade union leaders on Saturday. ITAR-TASS learnt from union leaders that all pensioners will again receive pensions with increments by regional indices.

The first vice-premier called miners' demands just and their position realistic, stressing that the sides agreed on the main thing: to settle all problems at the negotiating table.

"All of us are interested in resolving issues ensuring coal production in the Vorkuta region," Gaydar noted.

At the same time, chairman of the Vorkuta Miners' Independent Trade Union Nikita Shulga expressed dissatisfaction with the negotiations between miners and Gaydar. He told ITAR-TASS that "no specific decisions were again taken on burning problems of miners and other northern residents".

Leaders of Vorkuta Miners' Independent Trade Union organised a demonstration in the city's central street at noon, demanding an immediate meeting with Gaydar.

The leaders warned that if the meeting does not take place and does not reach specific decisions on the problems of miners and other northern residents, an unlimited strike of all Vorkuta mines and other enterprises will start.

Joint Protocol Signed

LD2711144693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1411 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Viktor Makarov and Gennady Yezhov]

[Text] Vorkuta November 27 TASS—Russian Vice-Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar said on Saturday the government will pay off the debt to the coal miners next week.

Gaydar made the statement after his meeting with coal miners in the city of Vorkuta on Saturday, following their threat to go on strike if their demands are not met.

The leader of the Independent Miners' Trade Union and Gaydar signed a protocol which lists the miners' demands and proposes ways to solve the problems facing the industry.

The government owes the miners about three billion roubles in subsidies, compensations and other benefits for September alone. The vice-prime minister promised that the money will be transferred to the mines next week, including from the Lipetsk and Cherepovets metallurgic plants, the main debtors and consumers of Vorkuta coal.

Gaydar Ends Visit to Komi, Leaves for Kuzbass

LD2711215593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2108 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennadiy Yezhov and Viktor Makarov]

[Text] Syktyvkar November 28 TASS—Russian Vice-Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar ended his visit to Syktyvkar late on Saturday.

During the visit, Gaydar attended a meeting with local authorities and industrialists on the social and economic problems facing the Republic of Komi, northeastern European Russia.

The participants in the meeting discussed the situation in the fuel and energy and wood-working industries and projects on their development. One such project envisions the creation of a megalopolis in Vorkuta to extract not only coal, but also other natural resources which Russia needs badly.

On behalf of President Boris Yeltsin Gaydar presented Yuriy Spiridonov, chairman of the Komi parliament, with an Order of Friendship of the Peoples for his contribution to democratic transformations and political and economic reforms.

At about midnight, Gaydar and his delegation left for Kemerovo for a meeting with Kuzbass coal miners.

In Vorkuta, he met with local miners to assure them that the government will pay them the debt next week.

The leader of the Independent Miners' Trade Union and Gaydar signed a protocol which lists the miners' demands and proposes ways to solve the problems facing the industry.

The government owes the miners about three billion rubles in subsidies, compensations and other benefits for September alone. The vice-prime minister promised that

the money will be transferred to the mines next week, including from the Lipetsk and Cherepovets metallurgic plants, the main debtors and consumers of Vorkuta coal.

The plants have pledged to pay off their debts to coal miners within the next few days. The Cherepovets metallurgic plant has already transferred 13 billion rubles to the coal miners in Vorkuta. The Novolipetsk metallurgic plant and several other debtors said they will transfer the money within days, according to Yuriy Mikhaylov, spokesman for Russian Vice-Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets.

He also said that Soskovets held a series of intensive talks with the directors of large enterprises over the last few days to settle the problem of mutual payments between producers and consumers of coal.

Mikhaylov said Soskovets believes that after the coal miners are paid their debts, similar measures should be taken to clear the debts to mining and metallurgic enterprises. The government should bring the situation with non-payments to a civilised form. This will help keep the country's economic system running, Mikhaylov quoted Soskovets as saying.

Supports Kuzbass Mining Proposals

LD2811095893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0934 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Gennady Yezhov and Grigory Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo November 28 TASS—First Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, now on a visit in Kuzbass, has supported the proposal of the regional administration and senior executives of coal mines and open-cast collieries on the creation of a coal investment company. This was announced at his meeting with representatives of Kuzbass business circles.

The idea to turn over to the region the functions of controlling part of the shares, which are now federal property, is not meeting with tough opposition, Gaydar stressed. It is a reasonable idea, aimed at improving perceptibly the effectiveness of managing the part of the coal industry belonging to the state. According to Gaydar, this will set an example for changing the paradoxical situation that took shape in the country: the level of management of state property is lower than that of any other type of property.

Gaydar agreed with the proposal of Kuzbass specialists on the creation of a special foundation for the support of the coal industry for the period, when the number of coal mines, capable of standing competition on the domestic and foreign markets, will be increased, while loss-making mines will be gradually closed down. In the opinion of Gaydar, the foundation may be partially financed with the help of the additional raising of money and of part of the value added tax.

"I regard these steps, taken by the government to meet the coal miners half-way, as the creation of a durable basis for the development of the coal industry not only in Kuzbass, but also in Russia in general," Kuzbass Governor Mikhail Kislyuk told ITAR-TASS. He believes this is a part of the process of working out a mechanism for the gradual improvement of Russia's economic situation.

Comments on Industry in 1994

LD2811135493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1259 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Following his meetings on Saturday with the miners and administrators of Vurkuta and Syktyvkar, Russia's First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar arrived in Kemerovo on Sunday (a regional center in Eastern Siberia).

He told representatives of the local industries that the mining industry would experience problems in 1994, connected, above all, with the limited demand on coal (economic stabilization would not begin earlier than 1995, he said) and, secondly, with the growing transportation tariffs. He stated that the government would give every possible assistance to this industrial branch.

Deputy Economics Minister Valeriy Fateyev, who is accompanying Yegor Gaydar, told Interfax that previously, the miners' discontent had been abated by promises which the government could not fulfil. This time, he said, no promises of this kind were given. Instead, the two parties decided to tackle the problems together.

Fateyev announced that Gaydar had charged him with the task of coordinating the departments connected with the coal industry, including the ministries of agriculture, energy and fuel and finance. On November 30, Fateyev is to hold the first working conference.

Gaydar's went on a tour of the coal-mining regions because of the serious situation in them and the miners' decision to go on strike on December 1 - 3.

On Sunday evening Gaydar is to return to Moscow.

Urges 'Re-Orienting' Defense Enterprises

LD2811201193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1843 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Gennadiy Yezhov and Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo November 28 TASS—Russian Vice-Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar has called for re-orienting defence enterprises in Siberia for the needs of the coal industry.

Gaydar is in Kemerovo, administrative centre of Russia's Kuzbass coal basin, for talks with coal miners over their demands.

At a meeting with local industrialists, it was mentioned that several defence plants in the Kemerovo, Novosibirsk and Tomsk regions have launched, with

support of Kuzbass coal miners, the production of equipment for coal mines which are in no way inferior to their western analogues. Specialists have also developed a new explosive for coal mining which reduces the cost of coal threefold. Gaydar described the work of converted enterprises as reasonable and pledged support by equipment and materials.

The vice-premier also met with the leaders of the workers' movement in the region. He expressed the hope that the agreements reached during his three-day talks in Vorkuta and Kuzbass can be carried out.

Speaking about the miners' concern about the closure of unprofitable mines, Gaydar stressed that a special interagency commission has been set up to handle these issues. He said the state will pay its debt to the miners next week.

In Vorkuta, the leaders of the Independent Miners' Trade Union and Gaydar signed a protocol which lists the miners' demands and proposes ways to solve the problems facing the industry. Trust cannot be won by words and promises, Gaydar said. The government will seek to carry out the measures included in the protocols, the vice-premier said.

Gaydar supported the proposal of regional authorities and coal miners to set up a coal investment company. The idea to allow the region to own the controlling block of shares which now belongs to the state meets no serious opposition, Gaydar stressed. This will help improve the effectiveness of management of the part of coal industry owned by the state, he added.

He also welcomed the idea of establishing a special foundation to support the coal industry until the number of coal mines capable of standing competition on the domestic and foreign markets increases.

Kuzbass Governor Mikhail Kislyuk praised "these steps, taken by the government to meet the coal miners halfway, as the creation of a durable basis for the development of the coal industry not only in Kuzbass, but in Russia in general." He believes this is part of the process aimed at working out a mechanism for the gradual improvement of Russia's economic situation.

On Monday the government and the Independent Mining Trade Union will continue talks in Moscow.

Departs for Moscow

LD2811154093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1428 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Gennadiy Yezhov and Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo, 28 Nov—One may speak about how successful the visit to the country's coal regions—Vorkuta and the Kuzbass—has been if and when one succeeds in averting a miners' strike in December. This was stated First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar in Kemerovo today. At a meeting with leaders of the region's workers' movement, he expressed the hope that the possibility exists of fulfilling those accords which were reached during the three days of talks in Vorkuta and Kemerovo.

Regarding the anxiety of the workers, which has arisen in connection with the closure of unprofitable pits, Yegor Gaydar said that an inter-departmental commission, which has been specially created, will be looking into these problems, including the adoption of an integrated program for the development of the coal industry. A considerable amount of the funds due to the miners from the state will be reaching the "Rosugol" company next week. This should remove the problem of the overdue payment of wages.

Trust is not won over by words and promises, the first vice premier stressed. The government will endeavor to carry out what has been laid down in the protocols of the talks with the miners. Life does not stop today, or will it on 1 December. And I do not want to stand here before you in six months time with egg on my face, was how he summed up his meeting with representatives of the Kuzbass workers committees. The latter, for their part, agree that now is not the time to wave the stick of a strike, and they expressed the wish that the democratic forces would triumph at the elections to the Russian parliament.

The talks will be continued in Moscow on Monday.

Yegor Gaydar this afternoon flew to Moscow.

Gaydar Says Russia's Choice Ready for Cooperation

LD2811131493 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] In an interview with INTERFAX Yegor Gaydar confirmed that the Russia's Choice election bloc is ready for talks with other democratic election associations in order to nominate joint candidates for the elections to the new parliament in the one-seat constituencies. He said the talks have already begun with the leadership of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, the Yavlinskiy-Boldyrev-Lukin bloc, and the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms. The core of the proposal is to use opinion polls to find one candidate who has the greatest support among the voters and to get candidates from other reformative blocs to step down in his favor. In Gaydar's opinion, this will strengthen the chances of the democratic forces in places where antireformers have strong positions.

Kuzbass Governor Says No Reason for Miners Strike

LD2911120993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1052 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Grigoriy Shalakin]

[Text] Kemerovo November 29 TASS—"Today, miners have no objective reasons for going on strike on

December 1, " said Mikhail Kilsyuk, governor of the Kusbass region in an interview with ITAR- TASS.

Kislyuk said that during yesterday's visit to Kuzbass by a government delegation led by First Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar an agreement was reached on ways of resolving principal problems faced by the coal industry.

Next year the region will have a well-thought out programme for the development of the energy complex. Expanding the authorities of the Kuzbassinvestugol company will make it possible to carry out a uniform policy in the sales of products, foreign economic activities and the social sphere.

"Difficulties are unavoidable at a turning point of the Russian history and they will continue in the coal industry. However, a strike is not a method to overcome them," the governor said, adding that the strike might cause irreparable damage to the Kuzbass region and seriously affect the vulnerable Russian economy.

Kozyrev Visits Murmansk on Election Campaign

Arrives in Murmansk

LD2611121093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1201 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Murmansk November 26 TASS—"I am addicted to the north and proud that the inhabitants of Murmansk nominated me for a seat in the State Duma. I will do everything in my power to develop this God-blessed region," Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs Andrey Kozyrev told reporters upon arriving in this Arctic port city today.

Kozyrev flew to Murmansk aboard a regular Aeroflot flight. He was met at the airport by an escort of several traffic inspectors' cars with their headlights on full. The minister's cars had to perform a smart manoeuvre to get away from the escort and drive to the hotel without much ado.

Andrey Kozyrev is rated fifth in the list of candidates for seats in the State Duma, the lower chamber of the Russian legislature, from the Russia's Choice Bloc after First Prime Minister Yegor Gaydar, human rights champion Sergey Kovalev, Social Insurance Minister Emma Pamfilova and another Vice Premier Anatoliy Chubays.

In Murmansk, Kozyrev is scheduled to meet civilian and military voters, young people who will vote in national elections for the first time, members of the local business community and doctors. He will take part in televised debates on local television and set forth the election platform of the bloc he represents and the main provisions of the foreign political framework of the Russian Federation.

The minister will visit Severomorsk, the main base of the Russian Northern Fleet and hold conversations with the command and crews of some warships.

On Sunday he will hold an unofficial meeting with Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt during the latter's brief stopover en route to Moscow. Bildt and Kozyrev are expected to exchange views on the domestic situation in Russia in the run-up to the December 12 parliamentary elections and discuss some specific programmes of international and regional cooperation in Northern Europe. They will also examine some pressing international problems.

Meets Fishing Academy Cadets

LD2711020993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2034 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Murmansk November 26 TASS—"Murmansk has always been a stronghold of the Navy, as well as of civil and fishing fleets. It is sea gates of Russia," Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told cadets of the Murmansk state fishing fleet academy here today.

Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Murmansk in the afternoon as part of his election campaign on the list of Russia's Choice candidates for State Duma deputies. Right upon the arrival, he visited the district electoral commission to receive a candidate deputy certificate of the 116th Murmansk electoral district.

The Russian minister will have to compete with another nine rivals, the majority of them are local residents.

"I like the city," Kozyrev, who has twice been in Murmansk told correspondents. "My service duties are also connected with this region, as it is a concentration of Russian interests in the military, trade, economic and tourist spheres."

Kozyrev met plant heads and attended a ceremony to mark a local hospital's jubilee.

When meeting the electors, the minister called for the elaboration of a state program of north development. "Murmansk is Russian north, when solving its problems we fulfill all-Russian tasks with due account of regional peculiarities," he noted.

On Saturday Kozyrev will visit Severomorsk and warships of the Northern Fleet.

Further on Meeting

LD2711133893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1242 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vassiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Murmansk (European North) November 27 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, running for a State Duma (lower chamber of a new Russian parliament) at the 116th Murmansk constituency, started his election campaign with a meeting with local fishermen.

Fishermen voters did not conceal from Kozyrev that they will prefer a candidate (out of ten nominees) who will help them to settle the most urgent problem of the fishing industry: to streamline the system of taxation which put all Russian fishing enterprises on the brink of bankruptcy.

It turned out that the minister knew the situation. However, he did not promise to reverse the situation immediately. He noted that the former parliament adopted quite a number of poorly thought-out laws. They will be changed for sure.

"As a cabinet member," the minister continued, "I shall promote this by all means. To avoid miscalculations in future, it is necessary to elect professionals to parliament as many as possible."

Kozyrev met on Saturday northern fleet sailors, another large group of voters. He also met the fleet commander, Admiral Oleg Yerofeyev.

Denied Air Time for Campaign Address

MK2711122093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 4

[Yekaterina Garbuzova report: "Minister Denied Television Time"]

[Text] On the evening of 25 November, Murmansk's council for the mass media decided to cancel the planned one-hour address on city television by Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, who is running for the State Duma in Murmansk.

Andrey Kozyrev arrived in Murmansk yesterday on a four-day visit. "I am mesmerized by the North, I am proud that the Murmansk residents named me their candidate for the State Duma, and I will do my utmost for the development of this blessed land," he told journalists upon his arrival in the city. The Foreign Ministry chief came by a regular Aeroflot flight. The candidate for the State Duma was given a guest escort by State Motor Vehicle Inspectorate cars, but Andrey Kozyrev's driver managed to escape the motorcade and to bring the guest to a hotel without the pompous entourage. During the day, the foreign minister visited electoral commission No. 116 of the Murmansk district, where he is running for the State Duma. In addition, a one-hour address was planned on local television.

On 25 November, however, Murmansk's council for the mass media refused to give Andrey Kozyrev air time for his address. The council explained that several days earlier it passed a decision whereby candidates' addresses aired by the state television company may not exceed 12 minutes.

Although Nazim Babashev, Foreign Ministry representative in Murmansk Oblast, said that the foreign minister's address would focus largely on local economic problems, the council deemed Andrey Kozyrev's one-hour appearance to be "related to his official and public duties," which, in the council's view, amounted to a hidden political advertisement.

Meets Northern Fleet Commander

LD2711185493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1633 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vassiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelyov]

[Text] Murmansk November 27 TASS—"The North Fleet has been reduced by 15 submarines and approximately the same number of surface warships this year, but its combat readiness has not gone down, and the fleet has not become weaker, commander-in-chief of the North Fleet, Admiral Oleg Yerofeyev, said at a meeting with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in the port of Severomorsk on Saturday.

"The reduction has been made at the expense of improving quality and technical equipment of warships. We have received fewer warships but they are modern and capable of more efficient resolving of the tasks facing the fleet," the admiral noted. The Russian minister arrived in Murmansk on Friday where he is running for a State Duma (a lower chamber of a new Russian parliament) from the "Russia's Choice" bloc.

Admiral Oleg Yerofeyev stressed the North Fleet's international ties which have been successfully developing lately. "For the first time at the post-war period, we have carried out joint naval exercises with the United States and Canada this year," the Russian admiral said.

Our partners in NATO, Oleg Yerofeyev noted, are very interested in this region, the Barents Sea and the condition of the North Fleet. American, British and Norwegian submarines are very actively operating here, American and German aircraft are always on combat patrol in this area. However, the North Fleet is controlling all activities of those who "display an enhanced interest in this most important strategic region," the commander-in-chief of the North Fleet pointed out.

Speaking of the present difficulties of the fleet, Oleg Yerofeyev specifically stressed financial problems and the impossibility to take out used nuclear fuel. We have stopped pouring out liquid radioactive waste into the sea, the admiral said. However, according to the commander-in-chief, eight European countries in the region, in violation of international agreements, continue to pour out such waste products into the sea which seriously affects the ecological balance in the region.

Andrey Kozyrev noted that systematic interaction between the Russian Foreign Ministry and the North Fleet has been forming lately. "We have organized interaction between diplomacy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the fleet's diplomacy as we have common tasks—to ensure security of interests of Russia and its friends," Andrey Kozyrev said. In this connection the minister stressed the importance of international cooperation between the North Fleet and partners in NATO. According to the Russian foreign minister, this bloc will not increase in a number of its members, but all-round cooperation will widen and develop in various fields.

Stresses Development

LD2811182093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1720 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Murmansk November 28 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev ended on Sunday his election trip to Murmansk where he has been nominated a candidate to the State Duma, the lower house of Russia's new parliament.

During the trip, Kozyrev met with the voters in Murmansk and the city of Severomorsk, Russia's main naval base in the north, business people, local officials, commanders of the Northern Fleet, medics and journalists.

"I see no Russian foreign policy without the development of northern regions. Without developing this region, particularly Murmansk, we can hardly resolve economic problems in the rest of Russia. Therefore I have agreed with the proposals made by some city public organisations, including Russia's Choice (regional department) to stand the elections as a candidate in Murmansk constituency," Kozyrev said.

Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev has called for the soonest possible development of a state programme for Russia's northern regions, adding that Russia's economic revival will depend not only on a well thought-out and realistic federal policy, but also on a concrete regional policy.

The minister believes it necessary to "competently formulate a system of regional stimulation," primarily for small and medium- scale businesses. He called for working out a legal basis for the protection of and support for business people and for engaging foreign investments and other forms of mutually beneficial cooperation on a wider basis.

Speaking about international cooperation in the Barents Sea, particularly with Sweden and Norway, Kozyrev stressed the need to solve all disputes through negotiations as the only civilised way of settling mutual disagreements.

He said the Russian side has put forth a new formula of economic cooperation which is now being considered by Norway—to "prepare a package of agreements on cooperation" while holding talks on the delimitation of the Barents Sea in order that such delimitation would not affect bilateral cooperation.

In Murmansk, Kozyrev also met with Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt for the second round of bilateral talks to discuss cooperation between Russia and Sweden. Kozyrev said that "regional cooperation is acquiring not only state, but inter-state status." He pointed out to the significance of Murmansk's ties with Scandinavian border regions.

The Russian foreign minister plans to return to Murmansk in early December, just before the Russian parliamentary elections take place on December 12.

Discusses North, Constitution

LD2911055893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2336 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondents Vasiliy Belousov and Georgiy Shmelev]

[Text] Murmansk/Moscow, 29 Nov—A decision by a number of public organizations in Murmansk to nominate him as candidate for a seat on the State Duma has not come as something unexpected, as some sort of surprise, for Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. He revealed this in a conversation with the ITAR-TASS correspondents after completing his first campaign tour in Murmansk Oblast, where he visited Murmansk and Severomorsk. He said his whole foreign policy activity was most closely linked with this region. "I care for the north, I can relate to its problems, and I believe that I can do something to solve these problems."

Kozyrev emphasized that he would be "lobbying" for the region and working for the well-being of the area in any case, whether or not he is elected to the State Duma. But if he becomes a deputy it will be easier for him to solve many problems of the region's development, the minister believes. Without the development of the north it is impossible to solve Russia's nationwide problems, he said, adding that he regarded drawing up a program for the development of the north as "the most pressing task."

In the minister's opinion, it is now absolutely necessary to approve the proposed draft constitution. There is no "unassailable" constitution anywhere in the world, Kozyrev said, but if the proposed version is adopted we would be able to "live and work properly." He sees no "fundamental defects" in the draft, upon which "the best lawyers in the country, if not in the whole world" have been working, he said. If the draft is adopted we will be able to start "doing business."

Kozyrev believes it is right at this stage to combine ministerial functions with the duties of a parliamentary deputy. In many democratic civilized countries this

practice is simply obligatory (Canada), while in some others it is not permitted (the United States), but in the actual conditions of present-day Russia the minister believes that combining the jobs would be "correct and useful." Ministers will be working in parliament anyway, they will be involved in drafting laws, this is the reality of the day, Kozyrev believes.

He is standing for the State Duma in Murmansk constituency No. 116, together with nine other contenders.

Shakhray in Buryatia, Discusses Federation's Future

LD2611140393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1322 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Petr Tsyrendorzhiyev]

[Text] Ulan Ude November 26 TASS—"The Russian state must gradually go over from a national model of the Federation to a territorial pattern," Russian Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray told a press conference here, in the capital of the Buryat Republic, today. He said that relations between the centre and the subjects of the Federation should be based on the Federal Treaty, separate passages from which were included in the draft of the country's new constitution.

"The draft of the new basic law," Shakray believes, "vests the republics and regions of the country with extensive rights. For instance, Article 11 of the draft Constitution envisages, in individual cases, contractual relations between the Russian Federation and its subjects."

Shakhray informed the participants of the press conference in detail about the organisational principles of the Party of Russian Unity and Concord, which he heads. Noting that the party is of a distincly provincial character, the vice-premier stressed that its main purpose was to prepare republican, territorial and regional elections in Russia.

Shakhray Visits Altay Kray on Election Campaign

Talks With Local Officials

LD2811161993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valentin Pavlov]

[Text] Barnaul, 28 Nov—The meetings and conversations which Sergey Shakhray, deputy chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, had today with the heads of Altay Kray and of its directorates and departments, and with the heads of town and rayon administrations, were devoted to problems of the work of the law-enforcement bodies and the defense, agricultural, and industrial sectors of Altay.

Noting that the socio-economic situation in Altay was extremely grave, the vice-premier stressed that the state is duty-bound to settle its debts to the kray: for delivered agricultural produce, for the financing of military orders and the budget sphere, and for implementation of the program to clear-up after the Semipalatinsk nuclear tests. For this purpose, a special government conference is being prepared, and a plan for the long-term development of Altay taking account of its specific features is to be devised in conjunction with the kray administration.

As leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, Sergey Shakhray also had an election meeting with representatives of various parties and movements operating in Altay and in Omsk and Novosibirsk Oblasts. Speaking about the draft of the new constitution, he stressed that in spite of a number of shortcomings, and the fact that certain articles of the draft did not correspond to actual processes, it was extremely important for the constitution to be adopted for the sake of preserving Russian unity.

During his one day stay in Barnaul, Sergey Shakhray also met with local intellectuals and with employees of a German cultural center.

Tomorrow, Vice-Premier of the Government Sergey Shakhray flies to Yekaterinburg.

Speaks Against Troop Withdrawals

LD2811144593 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1400 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Addressing a meeting with representatives of election blocs and parties in Barnaul, Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, spoke against withdrawing Russian troops from former Soviet republics. According to the vice premier, Russian military bases will be the best way to protect the Russian population and are a factor in political stability in the republics of the former USSR. Sergey Shakhray also held a conference with heads of local administration and law enforcement bodies in Altay kray. Tomorrow Sergey Shakhray will meet voters in Yekaterinburg, RIA reports.

Favors 'Tougher Stand' Against CIS

LD2811180493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1607 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Russia must take a tougher stand against the CIS countries which Russian-speakers are "forced" to leave, said Russian Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Shakhray.

Shakhray, who heads the Party of Russian Unity and Concord (PRUC), on Sunday [28 November] told reporters in the east Siberian town of Barnaul that, if his party won the majority in the future parliament, its government would apply economic sanctions against such countries to make up for Russia's expenses on the Russian-speaking immigrants' settlement.

During his one-day visit to Barnaul, which was part of his party's election campaign, the deputy premier met

the heads of local administration and the head of the local council of people's deputies. The meeting was held behind closed doors.

Will Resign If Party Fails To Gain 5%

LD2811220093 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2130 GMT 28 Nov 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Sergey Shakhray, leader of the Party of Russian Unity and Accord, is continuing his election trip around the country. In Barnaul, Altay Kray, he stated that unless the draft of the new constitution was adopted the political crisis in the country would worsen sharply and this could have unpredictable consequences. As for the State Duma and Federation Council, they would be virtually outside the law. Shakhray intends to resign from all state posts if his party fails to overcome the five percent barrier.

Shumeyko Visits Kaliningrad on Election Campaign

Arrives in Kaliningrad

LD2611030093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2132 GMT 25 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Biryukov]

[Text] Kaliningrad November 26 TASS—Vladimir Shumeyko, Russian first deputy prime minister, was the first of the seven contenders to enter the election race for seats in the Federation Council, a new parliament's upper house, from the Kaliningrad region in western Russia. For this purpose, he arrived in Kaliningrad on Thursday and headed straight to the carriage-building works where he met with the labour collective, expounded his election programme and answered questions from workers.

Later in the day, Shumeyko attended a ceremony of commissioning a new residential district for servicemen withdrawn from the Baltic states. He stressed that the deployment of a compact army group here should be regarded not as a burden for the region but as a guarantor of the territory being part of Russia, the more so as the servicemen's accommodation is to be financed from the federal budget.

In the evening, the first deputy prime minister met with local intellectuals to discuss certain problems of the region's social, economic and cultural development.

During his three-day stay in the Kaliningrad region, Shumeyko is scheduled to meet with agricultural and industrial workers, and servicemen.

Discusses Role of Troops

LD2611234893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1702 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] During his visit to the Kaliningrad region, Russian First Vice Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko stated that the stay of a Russian armed contingent there was a guarantee of the territory's belonging to Russia. He made this statement at the ceremony of handing over two houses for Russian servicemen built by Lithuania.

Shumeyko said the construction of houses for servicemen in this region was profitable for both Russia and the Baltic states. "The better the servicemen in the Kaliningrad region are accommodated, the stabler will be the situation in society, the more successful will be the process of democratic reforms," he pointed out.

Shumeyko said a presidential decree to grant a special status to the region was "virtually prepared." Thanks to the decree, the region will be "able to function well" until the future Federal Assembly passes a corresponding law.

Ends Visit

LD2811111693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1035 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valery Biryukov]

[Text] Kaliningrad November 28 TASS—"The government should make changes in its agrarian policy without delay, or the agri-business complex may just collapse," First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko told ITAR-TASS after visiting rural areas of the Kaliningrad region.

As a candidate to the Federation Council of the new parliament from the 39th two-seat constituency of the Kaliningrad region, he joined the electoral campaign and held a number of meetings with electors there for three days. Shumeyko visited industrial enterprises, farms and army units and spoke before scientists and artists.

He devoted special attention to the draft of the new Russian constitution. Explaining its main provisions, he urged the electors to support the draft constitution at the referendum on December 12. "The elections will become meaningless without the adoption of the new constitution, because the Federal Assembly will then be illegal," he stressed.

Shumeyko left Kaliningrad for Moscow today.

Ural Republic's Rossel on Effects of Removal

MK2611120593 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 19/21, 26 Nov-2 Dec 93 p 1

[Telephone interview with Eduard Rossel, former chief of Sverdlovsk Oblast administration, by Andrey Lipskiy; date not given: "First Official Visit to Ural Republic"]

[Text] From 20 to 22 November, the presidential staff's commission under V. Volkov stayed in Yekaterinburg. The purpose of that arrival was evident: to bring order to the "self-proclaimed" Ural Republic, to convince people that the president's decision on dismissing Eduard Rossel from the post of administration chief and dissolving the oblast soviet was justified, and also to campaign for the new draft constitution. In order to amplify the scant information about this voyage, Andrey Lipskiy, chief of OBSHCHAYA GAZETA's Political Analysis Department, called Yekaterinburg and had a conversation with the "chief mutineer"—Eduard Rossel.

[Lipskiy] What did the presidential commission do in Yekaterinburg and what are the results of its work?

[Rossel] Most interestingly, the commission did not meet with me personally: there have been no calls or invitations. I learned everything I know from Volkov's address at a meeting with representatives of the oblast, which I watched on television at home. There was no meeting with members of the dissolved oblast soviet, either. Grebenkin, chairman of the soviet, said to commission members bluntly: "By issuing the presidential edict on the Ural Republic you have done great damage to the president personally." With regard to the dismissal of the administration chief, the presidential commission conducted a meeting of administration chiefs of oblast cities and rayons. Its organizers tried to wind it up quickly and according to their scenario, but failed: a heated three-hour discussion resulted in all 50 administration chiefs' adopting a resolution unanimously (of course, against the commission's will). The resolution calls on the president to rescind the edict and to reinstate me as chief of the Sverdlovsk Oblast administration. Another three conferences conducted by the presidential commission produced similar results. I mean the meetings with representatives of all political parties and movements of our region; with directors, entrepreneurs, bankers, and representatives of the Ural branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences; with agricultural workers (farmers, chiefs of collective and state-owned farms, processors of agricultural produce).

After the presidential commission's visit there have been continuing attempts to smear me by any means available, to collect damaging materials against me. However, this is not something new for us: In the past few months we have been examined by so many commissions of various sorts that sometimes we do not have time to cope with our main work. Presently, we are awaiting another commission of 15 people, which will include, according to Volkov, officials from the Foreign Economic Relations Administration, the Internal Affairs Ministry, the Security Ministry. Their objective is evident—to dig up materials to justify my removal from office.

[Lipskiy] What is it that the presidential emissaries have been accusing you of specifically?

[Rossel] Volkov was asked during a meeting: "What is the specific fault of the administration chief and the oblast soviet? Have you read the Ural Republic Constitution yourself? Have you seen anything illegal in it?" Volkov said bluntly for all to hear: "I have not read this constitution." Let me give another example characteristic of their ethics. Mashkov, a presidential representative, was asked: "Why have you been silent since April?" (When a referendum on setting up a Ural Republic was held—editorial board) He responded: "I was silent because I did not know the president's view."

[Lipskiy] Why was it that the "second round" of founding the Ural Republic occurred at the end of October—on the eve of the publication of the draft Russian Federation Constitution?

[Rossel] This was done according to an earlier schedule. On 25 April a poll was conducted among oblast residents on their attitude to the idea of a Ural Republic. On 1 July the oblast soviet's session proclaimed the republic and made a decision to draw up its constitution. At the September session, a draft constitution was adopted as a basis and published in local newspapers for a one- month discussion. This period expired on 27 October, when the soviet session finally adopted the constitution and the election law. We were rushed, however, by the approaching 12 December, the day of the referendum on the Russian Constitution. We wanted very much to be listed among Federation components not as Sverdlovsk Oblast, but in our new capacity as the Ural Republic. We tried to influence the Constitutional Commission, but nothing came of it. We decided to conduct a poll in the oblast on the people's attitude to the Ural Republic Constitution, but this was prohibited. We would like to elect, in accordance with our Constitution, a two-chamber parliament of 49 people (28-seat State Duma and 21-seat Chamber of Representatives), but they did not allow this, either.

International Affairs

Russian Statement on START Ratification Criticized

LD2611230693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Chairman of the Ukraine Parliament's Commission on the Chernobyl Accident, Vladimir Yavorivski, who leads the Democratic Party, has called Russia's statement on the ratification of START-I in Ukraine as "a step towards a nuclear stand-off."

He told INTERFAX [26 November] on Friday that "the distance between Moscow and Kiev has been unchanged, and Russian politicians have probably forgotten that the danger from the refusal to service strategic nuclear weapons in Ukraine is facing Russia, too."

Meanwhile, Yuri Kostenko, in charge of the parliamentary group preparing START-II for ratification in Ukraine, has dismissed the Russian statement as "populist." He emphasized that his republic had not breached a single international nuclear non-proliferation accord.

In his words, the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons makes no mention of such states as Ukraine.

He argued that "the Lisbon protocol is contradictory in legal terms, since it says that Ukraine must destroy nuclear weapons as owner and join the treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons." He called the protocol's wording "an error of those who compiled and signed it."

Sanctions against Ukraine, he said, would have legal grounds if Kiev ratified the document but left its commitments on paper.

Kostenko Explains Resolution to CSCE

LD2711141093 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 0800 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Ambassador Yuriy Kostenko, head of Ukraine's delegation at the Vienna talks, gave an expanded explanation of the clauses in the resolution adopted by the Supreme Council of Ukraine on ratification of the START I Treaty and the Lisbon Protocol at the latest sitting of the forum for issues of security and cooperation, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Explaining the nature of this decision, he emphasized that the attitude of the Supreme Council, president, and Government of Ukraine to the nonnuclear future of our state has not changed and that the decision adopted by the Supreme Council should be described as the first step taken by our state on the path of gradual elimination of nuclear weapons located on its territory.

Diplomats Explain Decision

AU2611195493 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 25 Nov 93 p 5

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "In Diplomatic Circles": "They Have Passed on the Information"]

[Text] On Wednesday [24 November], Ukrainian Ambassador to Belarus Volodymyr Zheliba met with Aleksandr Sychov, Belarusian deputy minister of foreign affairs. During the conversation, the Ukrainian diplomat stressed that the adoption of the decree [on START I] by the Ukrainian Parliament is not in contradiction with its acquiring a nuclear-free status.

The Belarusian side agreed during the conversation that it is mandatory that Ukraine be provided with security guarantees and economic support on the part of other nuclear powers.

On the same day, Ukrainian Ambassador to Uzbekistan Volodymyr Smetanin met with M. Khalilov, deputy head of the Uzbek external political department, and handed him a note on ratifying the treaty and the [Lisbon] Protocol. Explanations were given to the Uzbek diplomat on Ukraine's position regarding nuclear issues.

Zlenko, Hungary's Jeszenszky Discuss Regional Security

LD2911112593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2235 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Budapest, 28 Nov—Ukraine's Foreign Minister Anatoliy Zlenko held a meeting with Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky. They discussed a wide range of issues concerning bilateral and regional cooperation, as well as Ukraine's and Russia's joint effort to implement political and diplomatic approaches to the problems of strengthening stability and security and understanding in the region. The ministers agreed to continue to talk about these issues during their meetings at the CSCE in Rome and the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Brussels.

Today, Zlenko held a conference in Budapest with heads of Ukrainian diplomatic representations in the states of central and eastern Europe.

Delegation To Negotiate EC Status in Brussels

LD2711222393 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] A Ukrainian Government delegation has been appointed to conduct negotiations with the leaders of the European Community Commission. It will be led by Deputy Prime Minister Valentyn Landyk. He will be accompanied by Industry Minister Anatoliy Hlutchenko; Viktor Hladush, deputy minister of foreign economic affairs; adviser to the president Ivan Postryha; and experts, who will leave for Brussels on 29 November.

The main purpose of negotiations is to examine issues concerning Ukraine's relations with the European Community.

The visit also has a political objective. It concerns Ukraine's intention to acquire formal status of a country with a transitional economy within the framework of the European Community in the near future. This would speed up our state's formal accession to full membership in this influential European structure.

Warning Issued on Illegal Export of Military Documentation

LD2711220793 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0900 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—According to sources close to Ukraine's Ministry of Defense, Ukrainian Deputy Defense Minister Ivan Oliynyk issued a directive on 26 November "on the sale (transfer) of technical documentation by enterprises and organizations of Ukraine's military-industrial complex abroad without the consent of Ukraine's Ministry of Defense." It says, in particular, that such incidents took place at military unit No 35401, the Sputnik military plant, the Izyum precision instruments plant, and others.

Should lack of timely reaction and failure to take measures to put an end to the sale of technical documentation for arms and military equipment abroad without the Defense Ministry's authorization be discovered, heads of military representations at the plants and enterprises of the Ministry of Machine-Building, Military-Industrial Complex and Conversion will be severely punished, and even discharged from the Armed Forces of Ukraine.

National Affairs

Supreme Council Resumes Plenary Session

Approves Currency Regulation Law

LD2611133493 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1950 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev, 25 Nov—Ukrainian people's deputies have resumed plenary sittings, which began with a discussion of the issue on currency regulation. A law, "On making changes to the decree of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine 'on currency regulation,'" was adopted. According to Viktor Yushchenko, chairman of the National Bank, this law establishes a mechanism for regulating the exchange rate levels of currencies. The law says:

"The Supreme Council of Ukraine resolves:

"1. To make the following changes to decrees of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers:

"—to set forth Point 1 of Article 8 of the Cabinet of Ministers decree No. 15-93 dated 19 February 1993, on a system of currency regulation and currency control in the following words: "Currency (exchange) rates of foreign currencies, reflected in Ukraine's currency, are utilized for currency transactions, exchange rates of currency values [valyutni tsinnosti] in foreign currencies, and also in settlement (clearing) units. The said exchange rates are established by the National Bank of Ukraine in coordination with the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers;

"—Articles 1 and 2 of decree No. 17-39 of the Cabinet of Ministers dated 19 February 1993, on the procedure for making settlements in foreign currency—90 calendar days—is changed to 30 calendar days."

A Supreme Council resolution on the procedure for implementing the law of Ukraine on making changes to decrees of the Cabinet of Ministers on currency regulation was adopted. The Supreme Council of Ukraine resolves:

"1. To put into practice the law of Ukraine, "On making changes to decrees of the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers on currency regulation" from the day of its publication.

"2. Taking account of the critical situation with paying off foreign debts, and with the aim of increasing control over the carrying out of currency transactions, the National Bank of Ukraine, with the participation of the Cabinet of Ministers, is to elaborate a control mechanism within a week, which would ensure the full and timely settlement of accounts in currency. To cancel, as from 1 January 1994, the force of individual licenses as such that do not meet the interests of the state, which have been issued to residents for opening currency accounts in foreign banks in convertible currency, apart from enterprises and organizations of sea, river, and air transport. To establish a limit between the purchase and sale exchange rates of foreign currency in cash and non-cash transactions within three days.

"To report to the Supreme Council of Ukraine on the implementation of the said assignments by 1 January 1994."

After this the deputies began to examine the issue of social protection of the population.

Approves Law Against Monopolies

LD2611234193 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Supreme Council passed a law on Ukraine's anti monopoly committee at its sitting on 26 November. This committee is designed to ensure state control over compliance with the antimonopoly legislation and protection of manufacturers' and consumers' interests against its violations. The most heated debate focused on Article Nine, which concerns the chairman of the antimonopoly committee. It was decided that one should be appointed by the Supreme Council at the Ukrainian president's nomination and should sit on the Cabinet of Ministers.

The session also introduced changes and additions to the Law on the Prosecutor's Office and some of the government's decrees, passed a resolution on the state house maintenance subsidy at housing cooperatives and youth housing complexes, and examined the issue of administrative regions. At the end, the sitting reviewed the issue of ensuring payments for supplies of agricultural produce, raw materials and foodstuffs to state reserves in 1993. However, no decision was taken. The next plenary sitting of the Supreme Council will be held on 14 December.

Cancels Decrees on Foreign Economic Activity

LD2611230393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1946 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Ukrainian parliament cancelled on Friday [26 November] all the decrees on foreign economic activities adopted by the government from November 1992 to June 1993. The appropriate resolution of the Supreme Soviet comes into effect from the day of publication.

Member of the Parliamentary Commission on Foreign Affairs Aleksander Duntau told journalists that the government's cancelled decrees had "introduced a number of changes to the Ukrainian legislature." "For instance, along with progressive changes the decrees, however, have eliminated the integral base of foreign economic performance," he emphasized.

The Ukrainian Supreme Soviet refused to grant the Cabinet of Ministers the right to introduce changes to lists of goods, the export and import of which are to be licensed and for which quotas are to be fixed.

Adopts Bill on Privatization

LD2711104393 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2215 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Supreme Council of Ukraine adopted a draft law on amendments and additions on issues of privatization.

Two more draft laws were submitted. Lada Pavlykivska [name as received], deputy minister of the economy, delivered a report on behalf of the Cabinet of Ministers and Oleksandr Barabash, people's deputy from Dnepropetrovsk oblast and commission secretary, delivered a report on behalf of the Standing Commission of the Supreme Council of Ukraine for issues of economic reform and management of the national economy. The deputies decided to send these two draft laws back for further elaboration and for them to be resubmitted to parliament for examination.

With very little discussion, the Supreme Council adopted the well-prepared draft law on state subsidies for maintenance of apartments in housing construction cooperatives and youth housing complexes. The approximate total amount of subsidies in Ukraine is 44 trillion, 842 million karbovantsi. The subsidy for one square metre comes to 169 karbovantsi, 40 kopecks.

The deputies heard information from the government on implementation of the Supreme Council resolution of 19 November on providing settlements for agricultural produce delivered to state resources in 1993.

Kravchuk Tightens Controls Over Hard Currency Transactions

LD2711212493 Kiev Ukrayinske Telebachennya Network in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk signed the Law of Ukraine on Changes to the Cabinet of Ministers Decrees on Currency Regulation, passed by the Supreme Council. According to the act, the official exchange rate of Ukrainian karbovanets to foreign currencies is determined by the National Bank in coordination with the Cabinet of Ministers. The law also provides for a three times shorter period, 30 days, within which hard currency proceeds from export transactions must reach Ukraine.

Taking into account the critical situation in payment of the external debt, and aiming to intensify control over hard currency transactions, the Supreme Council instructed the National Bank to revoke, as of 1 January 1994, those individual licenses granted to residents of Ukraine for opening hard currency accounts with foreign banks that are not conducive to the interests of the state. [passage omitted]

In a separate resolution, the Cabinet of Ministers abolished all benefits granted earlier to enterprises and organizations as to their exemption from compulsory sale of hard currency receipts, as of 1 January 1994. The government will no longer accept applications for such exemption. Measures envisaged by the above package are aimed at containing the rate of hyperinflation, stabilizing the national currency, and decreasing the debt to foreign partners. The full text of the above documents is published in the press.

'Putsch Atmosphere' in Parliament Amid Energy Crisis

PM2611152993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 1

[Olga Musafirova report: "Mariya Devi Khristos Was Right—End of World Is Nigh in Kiev"]

[Text] It is cold and dark. It is that time of the year. A reader called in from the Obolon housing project (the size of a small town)—he was a humorous individual. He did not ask when the light, radiators, and hot water would come back on in his apartment block and the neighboring 16-story anthill. He did not ask when it would at least be possible to use the dead hotplates (there is no gas in the blocks, only this wonder of civilization) to make some tea for his children, who could not go to kindergarten—because it is cold and dark there too. The reader asked a philosophical question—who gains from all this?

I did not know what to say. In fact, the Obolon situation is understandable—some kind of power cable had been damaged there. Power had been cut off for three days, but there were not enough engineers to fix things. They have to stay patient and keep hoping.

On the night of 19 November something happened to freeze that hope. At 2210 the Ukrainian and Russian power systems were to all intents and purposes separated. According to Viktor Semenyuk, Ukrainian minister of energy, the Russian side has the initiative—debts, debts, and 2 billion kilowatt-hours. Nobody will provide heating free of charge. Only one line was left, and that will automatically shut down if overloaded. Ukraine can only meet 45 percent of requirements out of its own reserves. This means that the "share" allocated to industrial consumers will be sharply reduced. They will essentially only be promised enough power to keep technological processes going. Residential areas will also find themselves dependent on the sources of power—"staggered" blackouts will become the rule.

There was a putsch atmosphere in the Ukrainian parliament 23 November. The president was absent, Speaker Ivan Plyushch was strengthening diplomatic relations in the Czech Republic, and his deputy, Ivan Durdynets, decided to close the session early and send the deputies to work in the commissions. They disagreed. The lights and microphones were rather showily turned off in the auditorium and the carafe of water removed from the rostrum. But Deputy Yagoferov managed to read out a statement full of complaints about the president and his line—be it political, economic, or whatever.

A report and election conference of Crimean communists had been held in Simferopol a few days earlier. The guest of honor at it was Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Russian Communist Party Central Executive Committee. Although the discussion was not entirely about this subject, Zyuganov made a sharp assessment of his president's attitude to Ukraine: "Yeltsin fails to realize what Ukraine means to Russia. He is reducing gas supplies here and at the same time holding talks on supplying Poland. That is a betrayal." In their search for warmth and answers people will now turn to anyone—are Leonid Kravchuk and Boris Yeltsin really unable to grasp that?

It is cold and dark. You feel lonely. Our souls are freezing like cockroaches. You learn to survive...

TV Broadcasting Time To Be Cut

LD2911165893 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1339 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—A UNIAN correspondent learned today from sources close to the Ukrainian Cabinet of Ministers that, in order to save electricity, from 1 December all television broadcasts in Ukraine will be relayed from 1600 [1400 GMT]. Proposals regarding the work of commercial television channels are being discussed in government circles. It is possible that the reduction in relaying will concern the Ukrainian and Russian state television channels and Ostankino.

Military, Government Chiefs Implicated in Corrupt Deal

LD2711221493 Moscow Radio Moscow International Service in Russian to Tajikistan 1700 GMT 27 Nov 93

[From the "Radio Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] The Ukrainian security service has stopped an attempt to illegally sell two Ukrainian MiG 25 bombers to one of the CIS countries. The NEZAVISIMOST [INDEPENDENCE] newspaper reported that the chief of the general staff of the Armed Forces and a number of other top military chiefs and high government officials are implicated in the deal. They intended to sell two modern war planes each worth about $5 million. In return, they expected to receive for themselves 24 Zhiguli cars worth in total only $150,000.

'Classified' Cable Deems Officers Union Ban Illegal

WS2911155493 Kiev SAMOSTIYNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 22 Nov 93 p 3

[Report by UNIAN correspondent Serhiy Honcharuk: "Ukrainian Officers Union. What Will Happen Tomorrow?"]

[Text] A classified encoded cable signed by Deputy Defense Minister Ivan Bizhan and Oleksandr Skipalskyy, head of the Main Directorate for Military Intelligence, has been sent to all Ukrainian military units and institutions regarding the activities of the Ukrainian Officers Union [SOU].

The cable, in particular, points out that following the October putsch in Moscow in which the Russian Officers Union supported the disbanded Supreme Soviet, many Ukrainian commanders banned the activities of local SOU organizations in their units. The cable emphasizes that the ban is illegal, because the SOU is a patriotic public organization that should not be compared with similar organizations in Russia. The September declaration issued by the SOU Executive Committee on the results of the Massandra negotiations between the Ukrainian and Russian presidents, blaming Leonid Kravchuk for betraying national interests, represents not the official standpoint of the SOU leadership, but views and opinions of Kiev organization leaders Colonels Roman Kostyuk and Oleksandr Saladyak.

The SOU, founded at the end of July 1991, was actively used by the Ukrainian Administration for controlling servicemen's sentiment. Its unwillingness and inability to resolve the social problems experienced by the military, resulted in the organization's involvement in politics and a loss of prestige among servicemen. Former Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov actively supported the SOU's activities in the Ukrainian Army. This

led to politicizing on the part of both national-patriotic and anti-Ukrainian forces within the Army.

The cable demonstrates that some Ukrainian military commanders have drawn no conclusions from either their own or the Russian experience.

Officer Clarifies Order on Length of Military Service

LD2711175393 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1600 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev—A UNIAN correspondent learned from unofficial sources on 25 November that Defense Minister Colonel General Vitaliy Radetskyy, acting in accordance with a decision by the Supreme Council of Ukraine on increasing the term of military service to two years, has issued an instruction that servicemen who have served 1.5 years should return to units to continue their military service. The commanders who released them have been ordered to bring back the soldiers at their own expense.

Major General Anatoliy Palamarchuk, head of the chief directorate for mobilization and staffing of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine, commenting on this information at the request of a UNIAN correspondent, noted that this does not entirely correspond to the facts. According to him, the minister of defense of Ukraine issued the instruction on the term of service in accordance with an order from the commander in chief of the Armed Forces of Ukraine. The major-general explained that no one will return released soldiers to the army. All others, and in particular those who have served 1.5 years, are to continue their service.

This instruction also said that some commanders have exceeded their authority. Even soldiers whose term of service is less than 18 months have been released. Commanders of units where these violations were allowed have been reprimanded for shortcomings in their work.

Future of Strategic Armed Forces Discussed

WS2911090093 Kiev VECHIRNIY KYYIV in Ukrainian 20 Nov 93 p 1,2

[Article by Volodymyr Byelashov, deputy chief of the Department of Arms Control: "What To Do With the Strategic 'Triad?'"]

[Text] How should today's Ukrainian Army look? It has been two years since the Ukrainian Armed Forces were established. So this question is still on everyone's mind today. This is understandable, because such issues as defense, armed forces, and defense budget are the center of attention in any country, and even more so when a country only begins to reestablish its statehood, including its defense structures and mechanisms.

Currently, these issues are vigorously discussed by the Ukrainian people at all levels—in the legislature, the government, and the media. The Ukrainian Supreme Council has adopted a military doctrine and examined a concept of Ukrainian state security.

One of the most important issues is, of course, the problem of nuclear weapons. Many controversies have been triggered by the debate over this issue, which becomes more vehement every day. In this article, I would like to touch on a few aspects of this topic.

First of all, is Ukraine a nuclear state? Everybody must understand that currently it is not. It is not the same to have rights to be a nuclear state (Ukraine undoubtedly has such rights) and to be one. At this time, Ukraine can neither use these weapons (Ukraine does not possess the control systems), nor is it able to independently provide secure and efficient maintenance of them (this is the sole competence of the producers of these weapons, who are not controlled by Ukraine).

This way, the statements on "our" nuclear weapons that "do not have to be turned back to anybody," or on Ukraine's nuclear status, politely speaking, are not justified. A simple decision to detain the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory will not make our country a nuclear state.

Second, can Ukraine become a nuclear state?

To become a real nuclear state, it is necessary to go through the entire process that other nuclear states have experienced, meaning to develop full-value nuclear potential (except the designing and production already existing in Ukraine).

Should a decision on Ukraine's nuclear status be adopted, it will be necessary to develop our own nuclear-warhead technology, appropriate production forces, scientific potential, as well as solve the issue of nuclear testing (meaning to find a place on Ukraine's highly populated territory where tests could be conducted, since only countries that have well-developed nuclear weapons systems can introduce a moratorium on nuclear tests—it is not possible to develop new nuclear weapons without testing).

Theoretically, Ukraine is able to solve most of these problems (I will not say how many billions of karbovanetses or even dollars it would cost). However, it should be pointed out that given the current economic circumstances, this could be too heavy a burden.

Third, what are the consequences of such a decision?

It is not hard to predict the political consequences of such a decision. It is obvious that we will have to forget about help from other countries, in practically all fields. The sanctions against Iraq and South Africa should be remembered. A possibility of more decisive acts by other countries should also be taken into consideration, provided that those countries are really concerned about Ukraine's nuclear program. The military actions against Iraq's nuclear facilities may be cited as an example.

This way, analyzing the political, economic, and military aspects of national security, it is hard to avoid the feeling

that the "nuclear option" might not strengthen but weaken Ukraine's security. Additionally, nobody claims that the Ukrainian Armed Forces are not strong enough to protect the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, including deterrence measures. This can be provided by an army with conventional equipment, given its modern organization, the proper training of servicemen, and appropriate weapons.

Undoubtedly, Ukraine's defense policy provides for strategic objectives that are to be conducted by the strategic forces. However, these forces and objectives cannot be confused with the temporarily united CIS nuclear forces. Not to dwell on the strictly military aspects of this issue, it should be pointed out that besides such types of armed forces as infantry, air force, antiaircraft defense, and a navy, Ukraine should also have strategic forces, or at least a strategic command of Ukraine's Armed Forces. It must be understood that such forces should play a dual role—to be a potential deterrent, meaning that the nature of their weaponry should deter a potential enemy, and to conduct regular strategic assignments.

They could include such deterrence-strategic forces as the Missile Deterrence Forces, equipped with conventional weapons allowed by international agreements. First of all, such equipment should include highly accurate cruise missiles with appropriate ranges, ballistic missiles with highly accurate warheads of high yield, and nonnuclear intercontinental missiles, provided strict adherence to appropriate international agreements.

Ukraine has defined its path to nuclear-free status. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian strategic forces can have conventional missile systems of appropriate ranges. The more so, because these missiles can be equipped with conventional warheads, particularly, with volume-explosive [obyemno-vybukhova diya], kinetic, and vacuum action modes. By the way, the firepower of these missiles, as well as of certain artillery systems, resembles that of certain weapons of mass destruction, such as nuclear arms.

I would put somewhat aside the possibility of using intercontinental ballistic missiles. The most important issue in this regard is the military expediency of such missiles and their maintenance. Installing conventional warheads on strategic ballistic missiles would be expedient only in case a warhead has a high energy yield, like the ones in volume-explosive and kinetic warheads. Otherwise, sending a few hundred kilograms of TNT to another continent would make no sense. Another problem is the possibility of developing, servicing, and improving such kinds of weapons. It is no secret that Ukraine is producing strategic intercontinental missiles. To equip them with nonnuclear warheads does not seem very complicated. However, such sophisticated carriers as intercontinental ballistic missiles should be occasionally tested. However, there are no appropriate testing grounds in Ukraine. So it is necessary to reach an agreement on testing our missiles with Kazakhstan or Russia, where such facilities exist.

The number and storage of such missiles also require deep consideration. Longevity and efficiency of these weapons depends on these factors.

An appropriate missile-attack warning system is also very important. Without it, intercontinental ballistic missiles, especially those in silos, could become easy targets of a first strike due to their inability to launch a counterattack.

The final decision, of course, rests with military specialists.

Ukraine has some TU-160, TU-95, and TU-22m heavy bombers. Whereas the practically experimental TU-160 bombers, without spare parts and ground facilities, have a problematic value for Ukraine as strategic weaponry (they are useless as nuclear-capable aircraft due to their tactical and technical parameters), the TU-95 and TU-22m bombers have undoubted value for strategic tasks of the Ukrainian Armed Forces. The nuclear TU-95 bombers deployed in Ukraine can be converted into nonnuclear ones, which is allowed by the START I treaty, provided their further maintenance in Ukraine. There is no doubt about the expediency of using TU-95 bombers as heavy nuclear-capable aircraft, strategic surveillance aircraft, or reconnaissance aircraft. For example, heavy B-52 bombers with conventional munitions used by the United States in Vietnam proved highly effective.

The modern TU-22m airplanes are also renowned throughout the world as counter antiaircraft forces, thanks to their superb technical parameters. Moreover, they are classified as conventional weapons.

Such powerful long-range air forces could perform important deterrence assignments in the framework of Ukraine's military doctrine. Additionally, their second purpose could be launching powerful strategic and conventional attacks during regular combat.

A considerable part of the Black Sea Fleet could also conduct Ukraine's strategic missions. The protection of Ukraine's southern sea borders is part of Ukraine's strategic defense. Submarines and vessels armed with cruise missiles and other kinds of advanced weapons can successfully perform such duties.

According to the present military doctrine, these forces may conduct strategic defense tasks in the place of nuclear weapons.

The airborne forces are equipped with all kinds of modern aircraft, such as heavy AN-22 and IL-76 planes, as well as medium and light AN-72, AN-26, and AN-2 airplanes, which are equipped with special landing weapons and have adequately trained personnel (the remains of the 98th Division could become the core of these forces). The airborne forces should also be subordinated to the strategic command of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, since they are also performing strategic duties.

The Ukrainian Strategic Forces could also comprise certain mechanized well-armed infantry battalions, regiments, and brigades, which should be able to operate independently.

The main units of the Ukrainian Armed Forces should be strong enough, first of all, to help the Strategic Forces repel any potential aggressor, and secondly, to prevent any possible encroachment on Ukrainian territory. All these forces should be mobile enough to conduct combat operations of various nature and magnitude, and given the minimum number of personnel, to operate throughout Ukraine.

The Supreme Council's adoption of the final version of a realistic and comprehensive military doctrine will facilitate the quicker development of a modern armed forces that would be able to successfully perform complex tasks, which they are facing at the present stage of conversion into the new world order.

Defense, Conversion Ministers Visit Lvov Enterprises

LD2711113993 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 2215 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev, 26 Nov—The press service of the Ministry of Defense of Ukraine reported that Colonel General Vitaliy Radetskyy, minister of defense, and Dmytro Chernenko, minister of machine building, military-industrial complex, and conversion, continued to familiarize themselves with enterprises of Ukraine's defense industry on 26 November. They visited the Lvov "Lorta" association, which specializes in complex radioelectronic equipment, and a tank repair plant. A decision was made to send some of the "Lorta" association's research samples to the military for testing. After this it will be possible to use them in the armed forces. A consultation with all of the directors corps of the oblast center also took place. Stepan Davymuka, representative of the president of Ukraine in Lvov oblast, and Mykola Horyn, chairman of the oblast Council of People's Deputies, took part in the consultation.

Navy Takes Delivery of Fourth New Ship

PM2911144993 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 1

[Vladimir Pasyakin report: " 'Leninskaya Kuznitsa' Produces the Lutsk"]

[Text] Sevastopol—The small ASW vessel Lutsk, which has arrived at its home base of Sevastopol, has become the Ukrainian Navy's fourth new ship. It was built at Kiev's "Leninskaya Kuznitsa" [Lenin's Forge] Plant.

With the growth of the Ukrainian naval fleet there is an increasingly acute need for it to collaborate with the Black Sea Fleet.

Civic Congress of Crimea Holds Founding Congress

LD2811190093

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1440 GMT on 28 November carries a three-minute recorded report by correspondent Vladimir Plotnikov during the Mayak "Panorama" program on the founding congress of the Ukrainian Civic Congress of Crimea [Ukrainskiy Grazhdanskiy Kongress Kryma] held in Simferopol on 28 November.

Plotnikov reports that, according to the principles laid down in its program, this party "unites Ukrainian citizens living on the Crimean peninsula who are joined by the idea of ensuring peace, interethnic consensus, and the development of the region, as well as the inviolability of state borders." He says that "many unflattering words" were spoken at the conference "about the communist empire in the past, about machinations in Moscow, and about Russia today."

Plotnikov continues: "The congress warned that attempts to detach Crimea from Ukraine are fraught with the danger of a new Karabakh, Dniester region, Abkhazia, or other similar trouble spot."

Plotnikov reports that Levko Lukyanenko, honorary chairman of the Ukrainian Republican Party—attending as guest of the congress—called for the autonomous republic to be eliminated and for Crimea to be turned into a normal Ukrainian oblast.

Nationalist Organization Registers as Political Party

AU2711203693 Kiev DEMOKRATYCHNA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian 24 Nov 93 p 1

[Unattributed report published under the rubric "Moment": "Try Yourself in Politics"]

[Text] Ukraine's Ministry of Justice has registered the 31st political party. It is the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists in Ukraine [OUN]. It was registered as a public organization a month and a half ago, but decided to changed its status when members decided to run for seats in the new parliament.

New Financial Paper Begins Publication

LD2711142193 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1440 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Kiev, 25 Nov—The first issue of a new newpaper, FINANSOVA UKRAYINA [FINANCIAL UKRAINE], has come out. It was founded by the "Livoberezhna finansova korporatsiya" [Left-Bank Financial Corporation], its chief editor is Alla Kovtun, and it will be financially independent. Its aim is to analyze and predict the economic situation in Ukraine from the free market aspect.

Belarus

Defense Minister on U.S.-Sponsored Conversion

WS2911095193 Minsk DOBRY VECHAR in Russian 16 Nov 93 p 2

[Report by Galina Sharayeva: "Meetings at Pentagon Will Help Conversion"]

[Text] As was reported, in October-November, the Belarusian defense minister, accompanied by 12 representatives of our industrial enterprises, paid an official visit to the United States. During the American visit of S. Shushkevich in July, a joint Belarusian-American declaration on cooperation was signed. This time, the defense ministers signed a memorandum on expanding military cooperation.

We visited an air base, a paratrooper base, and a military college, said Defense Minister Kozlovskiy, and acquainted ourselves with personnel training. It was a funny feeling—not so long ago, our strategy was based on a hostile and clearly—as we thought then—a forever identified adversary. And now we are the guests of this "adversary." Substantial talks were held at the Pentagon with chiefs of staff of all branches of service as well as with U.S. Senators Nunn and Lugar, who came up with a conversion program.

There are also specific joint projects. The program "Military to Military" envisions regular meetings of experts, joint studies of emergency situations, and training of officers.

The training program includes sending Belarusian servicemen on internships to U.S. schools and colleges.

The conversion of defense-assigned plants, disarmament security, utilization of weapons and ammunition, follow-up training, and providing servicemen with housing are among the subjects targeted by the Nunn-Lugar conversion program. As part of this program, Belarus signed an agreement giving it $65 million for this year. In 1994, the CIS countries, including Belarus, are to receive $400 million.

Participation in the program was discussed with 200 companies, and an additional 150 applied for admission.

Commentary by Belarusian Defense Deputy Minister A. Tushynskiy:

We have been conducting this kind of work with American companies for quite a while. Some U.S. experts have already visited Belarus and studied cooperation opportunities. Money provided by the Nunn- Lugar program will be funneled into conversion and consumer products, preserving jobs and creating new ones in our enterprises. We would like to participate in attracting foreign investments and establishing joint ventures. American businessmen have a good knowledge of our economy, and are familiar with Belarusian optic and electronic equipment. They believe that it is worth making investments for political reasons. After all, the fact that Belarus was the first CIS country that declared itself a non-nuclear state, and that stated that its foreign policies are aimed at neutrality and security, which earned us understanding and respect. Thanks to contacts between Belarusian and U.S. Defense Ministries, a direct telephone connection was established with Washington. We have also received computer and ecology-monitoring equipment.

In January 1994, American companies will participate in a contest for the right to join the Belarusian conversion program. American partners will soon visit enterprises in Minsk to determine the size of aid and the scope of cooperation.

Arms Destruction in Compliance With Treaty Detailed

LD2711031893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1813 GMT 26 Nov 93

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature: By Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin]

[Text] According to Major-General Viktor Vakar, head of Belarus's National Agency for Control and Inspection (NAKI), in the 16 months that have passed after Belarus signed the treaty on the reduction of conventional armaments in Europe, it has rid itself of 25 percent of its tanks, aircraft and armored vehicles subject to destruction under the treaty.

The second set of measures the treaty involves will be launched on December 1 and will take a year to carry out, Vakar told Interfax. By the end of 1994, the proportion of materiel destroyed might reach 60 percent, but lack of funds could make this difficult, he said.

NAKI estimates put the cost of destruction of one aircraft, one tank and one armored personnel carrier at $6000, $2000 and $1000 respectively.

By November 17, 1995, Belarus is to destroy 50 percent more military hardware that the amount to be scrapped by the United States, France and Britain put together.

"The total cost of the reduction of armaments under the treaty, including the expenses on their transportation to the places where they are to be destroyed, the removal of the scrap metal, the services of experts, and the reception of inspectors, is about $33 Mn," the general said. He said that, if the government were unable to raise the sum, it might have to cut down on some of its social programs.

Vakar said the Belarusian Defense Ministry had drafted and sent to the U.S. administration several programs to span a period until 1996 for assistance to Belarus in reforming its armed forces. They include "a program for the delimitation of military potential, which involves the creation of centers for retraining retired military personnel, and a program of assistance in the conversion of

Belarusian military industrial enterprises," he said. The programs would cost some $860 Mn to implement, the general said.

Private Firm Maintains Air Defense Missile Systems

PM2611140393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 20 Nov 93 p 4

[Report by correspondent Valeriy Kovalev: "Surface-to-Air Missile Complexes Maintained by Private Firm"]

[Text] The Belarusian Air Defense Forces Command is faced with the serious problem of servicing and maintaining missiles and artillery. With the breakup of the USSR, all the relevant maintenance plants were left in Russian territory. Transporting equipment there now costs more than the maintenance work itself.

Nevertheless, a solution to this apparent impasse has been found. Belarusian entrepreneurs came to the military department's rescue. The "Minotor" private firm offered to take on the responsibility of maintaining missile and artillery systems. So the Defense Ministry concluded an appropriate agreement with it. It soon became clear that it had not miscalculated. The maintenance and servicing of equipment costs 12 times less than before. As a result, almost 0.5 billion rubles have been saved in under a year. Customers in the Air Defense Forces also have no complaints about the quality of work done by the "private operators."

Parliament Passes Decision on Ways out of Crisis

LD2411200693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1437 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] Minsk, 24 Nov (BELINFORM-TASS)—The Belarus Sureme Council today passed a decision "On ways of bringing the Republic of Belarus out of socio-economic crisis and accelerating market reforms." Parliamentarians took over 10 days to pass a document on the outcome of the reports by the head of state Stanislav Shushkevich and head of government Vyacheslav Kebich.

With this decision, the Supreme Council instructs its planning budget and financing commission, the National Bsank and government to devise a mechanism for the Belarusian settlement banknotes to function as the only means of payment on the territory of Belarus.

At present, the Russian ruble is in circulation in the republic alongside Belarus' own banknotes—essentially Belarusian rubles. In the opinion of parliamentarians, an attempt to transfer the Russian ruble in the category of foreign currency will help reduce the Russian debt to a certain degree and make it easier to conduct their own financial policy. The deputies gave the commission, the National Bank, and the government the period before 1 December for their proposals.

Among other measures planned for the recovery of the economy is changing the structure of government and local executive bodies and on this basis, considerably reducing the number of the state bodies and the expenditure on their upkeep.

The level of the total deficit of the consolidated budget for next year was fixed at amounting to not more than 6 percent of the gross domestic product and monthly average rates of inflation should not exceed 10 percent.

Supreme Soviet Ratifies Russian Troops' Withdrawal

WS2611155693 Minsk BELAPAN in Russian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] On 25 November, the Belarusian Supreme Soviet ratified five international agreements—on good-neighborly relations and cooperation between Belarus and Romania, and Belarus and Moldova, as well as consular conventions with China and Romania. Also ratified were a treaty with the Russian Federation on status of Russian military formations that are part of the strategic forces stationed on Belarusian territory and a treaty between both countries on procedures for withdrawal of Russian troops to Russia. Both documents were signed by Russian and Belarusian prime ministers on 24 September 1993 in Moscow. According to the troops withdrawal schedule, units of engineering, ground, paratroopers forces, and the Russian Chief Intelligence Administration located in Belarus will be pulled out of the Republic by the end of 1993, units of electronic surveillance by the end of 1994, air force units by the end of 1995, unit of strategic missile forces by the end of 1996, and the remaining air defense and navy units by the end of 1999.

Opposition Refuses To Vote Except for Major Issues

WS2911083693 Minsk RID in Russian 1225 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Report by Tatyana Shchebet: "Parliamentary Opposition Is in "Boycott"]

[Text] On 25 November, at the Belarusian Supreme Soviet news center, People's Deputies Z. Poznyak, S. Naymchik, V. Golubev, and Yu. Belenkiy informed journalists that the opposition refused to participate in the Supreme Soviet voting.

According to Z. Poznyak, leader of the Belarusian Popular Front, a "boycott" will continue until the Supreme Soviet adopts a sensible program for overcoming the crisis in Belarus, first of all, by resolving fuel and energy problems, and by introducing a national currency.

Representatives of the parliamentary opposition noted that they will only participate in voting on cardinal political and economic issues, which are as follows: the new Constitution draft and the laws "On the KGB," "On

State Secrets," "On Ratification of International Agreements in the Republic of Belarus," "On the Press and Other Means of Mass Information," and "On the State Budget for the Year of 1994."

As it is known, the opposition holds about 70 seats in the 374-seat Supreme Soviet (the quorum for adopting the majority of bills is 173 votes).

Observer on Political Standoff in Supreme Soviet

WS2911112493 Minsk ZVYAZDA in Belarusian 16 Nov 93 p 1

[Report by Ihar Sinyakevich: "Resignation of the Government or Early Elections? Neither the First nor the Second."]

[Text] Long before the 13th Supreme Soviet session started its work, the main legislative factions had prepared the scenarios for the development of events in the legislature. Faction "Belarus" was going to insist on the adoption of the constitution and on holding early Supreme Soviet elections in the spring of 1994. At the 28 October press conference, the prime minister's adviser Mikalay Skarynin clarified the main constitutional clauses of the most influential deputies's faction. First, the constitution should become the main issue for discussion. It is clear that not all the clauses of the constitution will be adopted. At any rate, after the additional deliberation of the constitutional clauses by the constitutional commission, that is in mid-December, the final variant will be submitted for the consideration of the Supreme Soviet deputies. If the constitution is not adopted by the legislature, the Belarus "faction" will present the issue regarding adoption of the new constitution at a referendum. The adoption of this resolution requires one third of deputies' voices. Next, the presidential elections will be held in March and later—in two-three months—legislative elections will be conducted. It is clear that the president will be authorized with immense powers, while the Supreme Soviet elections will be held on a majority basis.

The opposition faction of the Belarusian Popular Front [BPF] also supports the adoption of a new constitution and holding early Supreme Soviet elections. However, the BPF demands the immediate resignation of the Kebich cabinet and the creation of a new government.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich supports a position similar to that of the Belarus "faction." It is evident that he intends to become president and it is easier to occupy this chair when you are a Supreme Soviet chairman. Hence, it is not in the interest of Stanislav Shushkevich to disturb the situation.

The session began its work in an extraordinary situation. In the past, the deputies happily greeted each other after vacations despite their political disparities, while this time all of them looked gloomy and depressed.

However, the first days of the session's work have shown that the majority of the deputies have not changed their minds. Regarding the spirit of the audience, there will be no revolutionary changes. The deputies will most likely drop any sore issues.

Anyway, there are some new trends. I have not heard the regular exclamations like "Do not interfere with the government's work!" When the agenda was discussed, the deputies simply ignored the proposal of the "Belarus" faction to first discuss the draft constitution and demanded that Shushkevich and Kebich deliver reports on possible ways out of the socio-economic crisis. Hence, the leaders of the most influential deputies' factions are likely to lose their control over the situation.

The first days of the session's work have shown that the third political force, still weak and unstable, is appearing on the scene. This force includes managers of enterprises and representatives of the local authorities. People's Deputies U. Tsyalezhnikaw, U. Sapronaw, I. Zhydzyalyaev and two people's deputies from Molodechno—H. Karpenka and V. Hanchar—who do not belong to the opposition faction criticized the government. Vitebsk Oblast deputies were especially hard in their criticism of the government. U. Kulakow, chairman of the oblast executive committee, has even declared that the government is pursuing an improper credit policy which twists the inflations spiral. This phrase would be common with Russian Gaydar or Fedorov, however, it sounded unusual in Kulakow's speech. It is apparent that the instinct of self preservation causes anxiety for the Belarusian local bodies.

It should be noted that Belarusian industrial managers have not been "praying" to Kebich of late. In June, one of the leaders of the Scientific-Industrial Congress of Belarus [SICB] told me that the SICB will not support Kebich in the presidential elections because the prime minister is incapable of introducing innovations into the economy. Currently, the determined activity of the economic management of the Republic is triggered by the catastrophic economic situation. In addition, Kebich's statement on the necessity of holding early Supreme Soviet elections has not increased his popularity among the deputies.

In my opinion, the process of unification of the most realistic representatives of the post-communist period on the market basis has intensified in Belarus of late. Kebich's team will be thrown overboard due to the inability to keep up with the times.

It is interesting that BPF representatives have changed their demand to transform the coalition government into a "government of experts." It can happen that the national democrats and the market- oriented nomenclature will become political partners.

However, this is an improbable variant of the development of events. The third Supreme Soviet force has not

yet shaped up. In addition, political life in Belarus is very inert. The usual thing with Belarus is the lack of political activities at all.

The coming week will bring nothing new. The deputies will likely go on criticizing the government and Kebich will announce that some cosmetic staff changes will be performed.

The decision on the early Supreme Soviet elections will not be adopted. The deputies will not undermine their position and the number of votes will not be enough to pass the resolution on early elections. Moreover, the old Constitution does not foresee early elections.

The basic changes in the structure of the government are likely to be performed only when the Republic will find itself amid the economic carnage. Regarding the fact that the Republican reserves of fuel oil—which is used in boilers—stand at half the required amount, the season for fires will likely last not later than the coming New Year. The end of the season for fires means the beginning of spring—the spring of political activities and social unrest.

Social Democrats Protest Minsk Control of Media

WS2911081693 Minsk NARODNAYA GAZETA in Belarusian 19 Nov 93 p 1

["Text" of statement by the Executive Council of the Belarusian Social-Democratic Assembly: "To Free Mass Media From State Censorship"]

[Text] The Belarusian public is witnessing how the government curtails freedom of speech and press in our country.

To violate one of the most fundamental rights, it uses two instruments.

Due to financial problems of newspapers and magazines, the government became a co-founder of numerous publications, indirectly financing and controlling them. The prime minister has openly declared that he will support only those publications that do not criticize the Cabinet of Ministers. There are attempts to silence NARODNAYA HAZETA, which has always been a rostrum for representatives of different political orientations. Since this is a Supreme Soviet publication, the government together with the communist majority in the legislature intends to replace the paper's editor in chief.

Indirect control over the mass media is executed by the department of the press, radio, and television at the Cabinet of Ministers. This governmental structure was put above even the ministry. This department dictates to the newspapers what information and in what doses it should be furnished to the population, imposes restrictions on the controlled papers, state radio and television, and prominent oppositionists.

At the initiative of the department of press, radio and television, independent and self-financed 8th television channel was closed. Political reasons of that decision became particularly visible in late September 1993. While granting independent television companies permission to resume their activities, the governmental structure advised them to "withhold" from "transmitting political programs and allowing political parties, movements, and legislative factions on the air." Also prohibited are commentaries on "official actions by the state structures." The department's bureaucrats forbade self-financed companies to rent their broadcasting time, which means that the opposition cannot even buy the right to present its views to the people.

Belarusian Social-Democrats express their protest in connection with the encroachment of reactionary forces on the freedom of speech and publication. The Belarusian Social Democratic Party [BSDG] will inform other social-democratic parties and the European community about the human rights situation in Belarus.

The BSDG expresses solidarity with journalists from NARODNAYA HAZETA—an official daily publication not controlled by the government.

The BSDG Executive Committee of the Central Council stands for the elimination of the department for the press, radio, and television at the Cabinet of Ministers, whose existence is not permitted by law. The Committee recommends that the deputies discussing the law on publications demand that the media be financed not by the Cabinet of Ministers but by the state budget, as is the case in democratic countries.

Kebich Receives Romanian Parliamentary Delegation

LD2411190493 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1815 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Excerpts] There was a meeting today between Vyachaslaw Kebich, chairman of the Belarus Council of Ministers, and a parliamentary delegation from Romania, headed by Oliviu Gherman, chairman of the senate and president of the Romanian Social Democratic Party. During the meeting, the head of the Belarusian Government expressed the view that considering the destroyed ties between former Council for Mutual Economic Assistance states, it is necessary to lift mutually advantageous cooperation to a new level. [passage omitted]

Today, the parliamentary delegation from Romania was recieved by Belarus Foreign Minister Petr Krawchanko. In the evening, there was a meeting with Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislaw Shushkevich.

Delegation Ends Visit

LD2511001193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1001 GMT 24 Nov 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Tereza Khayutina for TASS]

[Excerpt] Minsk, 24 Nov—Today a Romanian parliamentary delegation concluded its visit to the Republic of

Belarus. At the end of the visit, members of the delegation met Vladimir Radkevich, the chairman of the State Committee for External Economic Relations. During the visit to Minsk, which lasted three days, the Romanian parliamentarians met Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarusian Supreme Soviet, and Vyacheslav Kebich, head of the Belarussian government, and other officials.

"We are proceeding along a very difficult path but I am convinced that the future is ours," Stanislav Shushkevich said during the meeting. "We are satisfied with the development of the Belarusian-Romanian relations and hope to continue the dialogue". [passage omitted]

Soldiers' Organization Outlines Claim to Vilnius

PM2611113593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 1

[Valeriy Gromak report: "It Seems That Lithuania Should Hold a Grudge Not Against Molotov but Against Statkevich"]

[Text] The Belarusian Servicemen's Association recently demanded the transfer of the Lithuanian capital Vilnius to Belarus.

"From the standpoint of international law it is obvious," the address adopted by the association says, "that with the revocation of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact and other treaties at Lithuania's insistence, the Republic of Lithuania has forfeited the legal right to Vilnius and the Vilnius region, which it received under those agreements." Nikolay Statkevich, the association's chairman, noted that the address "does not contain territorial claims on Lithuania." In his words, the Belarusians' demand is similar to those which Latvia and Estonia are making on Russia.

General Accuses Counterintelligence of Classified Leaks

LD2711194193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] The Belarusian Security Committee's Military Counterintelligence Service has repeatedly leaked classified information. The charge was made in an exclusive interview with Interfax by lieutenant-General Yevgeniy Bocharov, the Head of the Border Troops Department at the Belarusian Council of Ministers. In his words, the leakage "has inflicted tangible losses on the border department and has put the new structure and major operations at risk."

Bocharov links the theft of secret reports from the key border troops departments to a letter addressed by the Belarusian KGB and Interior Ministry chiefs to parliament and government leaders. In the message, the power ministers suggest reattaching the border forces to KGB and accuse them of special services duplication.

In Bocharov's opinion, "the power ministers position is wrong since by adopting an operational military border guarding method, the Belarusian border troops have been the first in CIS to apply what the neighboring states have been using for years."

However, Bocharov stressed, "Belarusian special services seek to retain at any cost the monopoly of information, routine investigative and related activity", which, in his opinion, is "a vestige of totalitarian rule."

Deputy Minister Named as Military Academy Head

PM2611113193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Nov 93 p 1

[Valeriy Kovalev report: "There is No Military Academy in Belarus Yet but a Chief Has Already Been Appointed"]

[Text] As KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has already reported, it is planned to open a national military academy in Belarus in 1995. Practical work on creating it has already begun.

By decree of the Republic of Belarus Supreme Soviet the future academy's chief has been appointed. He is Colonel General Petr Chaus. In connection with this appointment he has been released from his duties as the republic's deputy defense minister.

Officers Required To Sign Military Service Contract

LD2711212393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 27 Nov 93

[From the "Slavyanka" program of the Russian Defense Ministry]

[Text] The Belarusian Council of Ministers has approved a regulation on military service by officers in the republic's armed forces. According to the regulation, officers will have to sign a contract by 1 February 1994. Those who for any reason do not wish do so are liable to be discharged from the Belarusian Army. However, in the opinion of General Ivan Zubko, head of the Belarus Defense Ministry Personnel Directorate, only a handful of officers will be discharged, since all servicemen have adopted Belarusian citizenship and taken an oath.

Moldova

Russian Envoy Meets With Chisinau, Tiraspol Leaders

AU2411153693 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 23 Nov 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "He Heard Both Sides With Equal Patience"]

[Text] The position of the Moldovan leadership with regard to the Dniester conflict is becoming more that of a compromise, stated special representative of the Russian president M. Medvedev. He held negotiations in Chisinau with Moldovan leaders. The Russian envoy visited Moldova on Yeltsin's personal request to promote the implementation of accords on the peaceful settlement of the Dniester crisis. M. Medvedev also met with leaders of the Dniester Region and discussed with them the question on the creation of a new commission for organizing negotiations between Chisinau and Tiraspol with the participation of Russian intermediaries. As is known, the Tiraspol authorities have refused to recognize on their territory the Moldovan leu [monetary unit], which will be put into circulation next week.

Lucinschi Cited on CIS Membership, Ties With Russia

PM2611161193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[From roundup of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI and news agency reports under the "Commonwealth" rubric: "Chairman of Moldovan Parliament Supports Strengthening of Ties within CIS Framework"]

[Text] Chisinau—Petr Lucinschi, chairman of the Moldovan Parliament, has spoken out in favor of strengthening bilateral and multilateral ties within the CIS framework. In an exclusive interview for an INTERFAX correspondent, he said that Moldova's entry into the economic union was a "justified and well considered move" which will help to resolve economic problems and overcome the crisis. That is why the parliamentary presidium ventured to officially approve this step without a decision by the session of the legislative organ of power, P. Lucinschi said.

In his words, the question of the ratification of the agreements on the creation of the CIS and the economic union is hardly likely to be submitted to a plenary session of Parliament before early elections are held in Moldova. As is well known, those elections are scheduled for 27 February 1994. P. Lucinschi believes that the problem of the ratification of these documents will be one of the first and main questions on the new Parliament's agenda.

"Many political parties and movements will gamble on ties with the CIS and Russia during the election campaign. The mood in society is such that these are the parties which will receive the majority of the votes. So they will have to make use of the mandate that they are given and assert themselves from the very beginning of the new Parliament's work," the speaker said.

P. Lucinschi stressed that no one, not even the representatives of the opposition, is in any doubt now that Moldova must be part of the CIS and maintain "good, warm" relations with the Russian Federation.

"The only condition required of our partners in this regard is respect for Moldova's independence and the observance of its territorial integrity and sovereignty. For our part we are open to and ready for mutually beneficial cooperation with all states. There is simply no other way. Sooner or later we will all come to that conclusion," P. Lucinschi stated.

Gagauzi Unit Subordinated to Interior Ministry

LD2411215693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1739 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] The Bujak battalion, which was regarded as the chief illegal Gagauzi militia force, has been subordinated to the Moldovan Interior Ministry. Following exams its men will serve as carabineers who protect law and order in Moldova. This compromise decision was made by the Gagauzia Supreme Soviet following a recent meeting between Moldovan President Mircea Snegur and Stepan Topal, the president of the self-proclaimed Gagauzi Republic.

Gagauzi Interior Minister Dmitry Uzun said that this decision suited all parties concerned and that Moldovan Interior Ministry officials had arrived in Komrat to hold the exams.

Uzun emphasized that only the professional skills would be tested and that Bujak's men would not be asked about their politics or required to show proficiency in the Moldovan language.

Observers have noted a certain rapprochement between Chisinau and Komrat in recent weeks.

Snegur Issues Decree on Introduction of Leu

AU2611110393 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0500 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Yesterday, in Chisinau, President Mircea Snegur's decree was issued on the introduction of the national currency of the Republic of Moldova.

The document states that from 29 November 1993, the national currency Moldovan leu [leu moldovenesc] consisting of 100 bani as a subdivision will be introduced into circulation.

The exchange of all cash and all accounts, including the savings of the population, currently existing on the territory of the Republic of Moldova will be made before 1800 [1600 GMT] on 2 December 1993, according to the official exchange rate, that is, 1 leu for 1,000 ruble coupons.

Beginning 2 December 1993, the Moldovan leu will be considered the sole legal means of payment accepted on the territory of the Republic of Moldova, our Chisinau correspondent, Mircea Dascaliuc, reports.

Dniester To Retain Soviet Ruble

AU2411165993 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 2015 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 23/11/1993—The old Soviet ruble will be still in circulation, stated today Vyacheslav Zagryadski, governor of the Dniester Bank, at the session of the Tiraspol Supreme Soviet. After the introduction of the national currency in Moldova and other CIS countries, the old cash could be bought from them and this the problem of money circulation would be solved, he said. There is a lack of cash money in Eastern districts. As a result of this the pensions and wages were not paid to the people. According to Zagryadski, the discounts between Moldovan and Dniester enterprises will be done via correspondent accounts of the banks. This is the way in which Dniester made the discounts with Russia and other ex-USSR republics. To satisfy their necessity for hard cash lei, Dniester enterprises will have to buy the needed amounts for a 25 percent commission from the Dniester Bank. The Dniester economic entities will have to earn by themselves the currency of other states, including of Russia since no delivery of Russian rubles is expected in the closest future. Dniester coupons will not be introduced in the closest future, stated Zagryadski.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev on CIS Ties, Trade, Disarmament

LD2711091193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1813 GMT 26 Nov 93

["Final part" of "exclusive" interview with President Nazarbayev by unidentified INTERFAX reporter; place and date not given; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX]: Many believe that your statements and recent CIS summits are an indication of a growing split between CIS states on all fronts. To what extent do you hold with such views?

NAZARBAYEV: The ideology of the Belovezh agreement was divisive rather than creative. But I do not yield to pessimism and am still convinced in the need to work towards a CIS economic union now handled by experts.

During last year's summit in Bishkek, I put forward proposals for monetary and customs unions, a CIS bank and a coordinating committee made up of leading CIS states.

In a recent article in the IZVESTIYA newspaper, I wrote that now was the time to examine the experience gained in the creation of the Maastricht union. I also spoke of a supranational currency, calling it by the widely recognized name of altyn. After all, they have ECU's in Europe, don't they? As if by chance, the ruble zone collapsed on the same day, November 2, as the Maastricht treaty came into being.

I am very sorry. We have sacrificed our strategic prospects for one-off considerations. To say it again, Kazakhstan and Russia must not be allowed to separate from each other. All talk about the ineffectiveness of our business alliance is nothing but politicking and para-economic arguments by the have beens of the state planning committee who are not in possession of real figures.

Our economic union can evolve along the same lines as the European Community—we must examine carefully the ways in which the Europarliament, Eurogovernment and commissions operate. They called theirs a European union. But didn't we fight tooth and nail against the word "union" here? If we cast all ambitions and pipe dreaming aside, we will be able to create a common market of former Soviet republics.

The advantages of such a union include common borders, vital supply routes and great demand for each other's exports. Where on earth can Russia sell its combine harvesters now? Ukraine relied heavily on the prospect of exports to Europe but there is a glut in the European market at a time when we are badly in need of Ukrainian products whose shortage led to widespread stoppages in Kazakhstan. We are also in need of imports from Russia, which has now put up trade barriers and forced us out of the ruble zone. Kazakhstan is rich in minerals, which enjoy great demand in the world market. But the trouble is ours is a landlocked country and the problem of transport will always remain.

IF: In other words, you try to cast a look at potential buyers of Kazakhstan's raw materials far beyond the borders of the former Soviet Union? How big is the number of foreign companies seeking cooperation with your country?

NAZARBAYEV: Very big. Avalanche is the word to describe it best. None of the CIS countries can boast striking such deals as Kazakhstan did. The huge project with Chevron (Tengizchevroil) is aimed at producing a total of one billion tons of crude oil. Even the first stage of the project spread over 25 years will help derive $170 Bn [billion] in revenues with 80 percent of this being Kazakhstan's share.

The list of the world's leading companies operating in Kazakhstan include Shell, Mobil Oil, France's Total, British Petroleum and British Gas, and Adgip. Chase Manhattan opened its branch here some time ago and I will meet the City Bank President soon after this interview. The City Bank also wants to open a branch here. The Kazakh-Turkish and Arab-Kazakh banks have opened up in Kazakhstan, and a total of 1500 joint ventures are in operation locally. The world's biggest companies are all represented here.

South Korea's Samsung has been entrenched in this country for some time and Kazakhstan is self-reliant for best quality refrigerators now. Other Korean companies have installed assembly plants for color TV sets.

There are enormous opportunities. German and Japanese companies which try to break into the local market have earnest intentions.

Following the introduction of our own currency, we have received substantial support from the IMF, the World Bank, the Asian Bank, the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the Bank of Japan running at $2 Bn. This is to help prop up the som in the next two years.

My policy is not to go cap in hand. I always say: come and work here but to mutual advantage. Australian and U.S companies are involved in gold-mining projects here and Kazakhstan's annual gold production will reach 50-60 tons by 1995-1996, which is big enough to replenish our gold reserves. We have enough gold and that is why we introduced our currency unit, the tenge. We are capable of producing an annual one thousand ton of silver which we export to Russia.

IF: All of this means greater orientation on business partners outside the Commonwealth?

NAZARBAYEV: Which way we turn depends entirely on Russia. Should we turn south, we would be met with outstretched arms.

Kazakhstan is ready for wide-ranging cooperation with Russia. But if the vital supply routes including oil and gas pipelines are closed, we will have to turn southwards. The southern countries are ready to accept and finance us, but this will deepen the rift with Russia. There is no other option but to try to turn towards the Gulf. Central Asian republics are now working on an extensive program to lay down oil and gas pipelines and railway routes towards the Indian Ocean.

However, we want to work together with Russia, including joint ventures in oil and gas production. Why should we try to attract companies from France or other countries instead of Russian ones? We announce a tender and pick up the highest bidder, and Russia can easily become one. For its part, Kazakhstan is ready for sweeping cooperation and rapprochement of our economies on all parameters. But here again, everything depends on Russian politicians and economists.

Hard as its own plight may be, Russia as a big state should move closer to us rather than fence off from other republics. Moreover, we in Kazakhstan and I myself are doing our utmost to stiffen rather than break off the existing contacts.

IF: There are some in Russia who accuse Kazakhstan of dilly-dallying with the problem of nuclear disarmament? To what extent do you think such allegations are true?

NAZARBAYEV: Kazakhstan's policy on the issue remains unchanged. It has no intention of becoming a nuclear power though it has been made to taste all "the delights of nuclear testing." The Lisbon Protocol was signed by all states deploying nuclear weapons. Kazakhstan had signed the START-1 agreement and was the first to ratify it. However, the Lisbon Protocol provides for unified strategic forces which were unilaterally stripped down by the Russian defence ministry in contravention of the protocol. Ukraine can easily argue it was not in breach of the protocol first. I don't really know why Russia behaved in that way.

Secondly, Kazakhstan wants its own share of payment for enriched uranium that the Americans have pledged to buy.

And finally, we would like to receive assurances from the world community that it will contribute to the elimination of the after- effects of 40 years of nuclear testings in Kazakhstan and provide whatever research or technical assistance is needed.

IF: Will you be seeking a treaty on comprehensive military cooperation with Russia?

NAZARBAYEV: Back in March, Yeltsin and I signed a paper instructing our defense ministers to prepare such an agreement to be signed at a heads of state level. But this is not ready yet.

IF: Has your perpetual optimism ever been frustrated?

NAZARBAYEV: Much too often. And yet, I remain an optimist. I think common sense will prevail in the end. Some of the statements by Russian politicians give me the creeps. I realize Russia is going through economic and political crisis. I am well aware of how hard this can be. Russia and Kazakhstan are destined to neighborhood with each other and everything must be done to preserve it.

Our ancestors used to live side by side and so must those who come after us. We must try to remain good neighbors and sincere friends. In such cases, you must wish your neighbor something you might wish to yourself. So my wish to Russia is: may its democratic forces who aspire for national unity and prosperity win the December election. Kazakhstan will always be close to such a Russia.

Nazarbayev Cited on Currency, Ties With Russia

PM2611142993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[Item from roundup of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI and news agency reports under the "Commonwealth" rubric: "Nursultan Nazarbayev: Kazakhstan and Russia Must Live in Friendship, Unity, and Trust"]

[Text] The introduction of the national currency in Kazakhstan "does not mean that we are moving away from integration in the framework of the CIS economic union and severing ties with Russia." That statement was made by Nursultan Nazarbayev, president of the republic.

At the end of a two-day tour of Kustanay, Aktyubinsk, Mangistau, and Kokshetau oblasts recently, Nursultan Nazarbayev met with leaders of local organs of power where he said that he wanted the "eternal neighbors Kazakhstan and Russia to continue to live in friendship, unity, and trust."

Speaking about the money reform, the head of state declared that "first it is necessary to ensure the stability of our currency and then its convertibility. That is why it is absolutely essential to prevent the development of speculation and other dubious currency operations. This is particularly important with regard to the Russian ruble. By organizing the exchange and sale of Russian currency via exchange offices we are creating a normal liquid market for buying and selling rubles so as to ensure the well organized import of commodities from the Russian Federation that Kazakhstanis need."

Nursultan Nazarbayev also said that at its session in December the Kazakhstan Supreme Council is going to examine a number of draft laws designed to strengthen statehood. These are the draft constitutional laws on the cabinet of ministers and on elections and laws on local representative and executive organs and on the administrative-territorial division of the republic.

Likely Impact of President-Parliament Clash Assessed

PM2611142793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 2

[Valeriy Komarov report: "This Road Leads to 'White House.' Nazarbayev Insists on Dissolving Soviets"]

[Text] Kazakhstan, like Russia, is dissolving the soviets. But Nazarbayev, unlike his northern colleagues, is not doing so head on. The deputies are giving up power "themselves"...

Nobody doubts that the main aim of the incipient clash is to bring down the Kazakhstani parliament.

Just as was the case with the Russian Supreme Soviet, this big, clumsy, long-winded, diverse, and contradictory body is increasingly "hindering reform"—put it that way. Its Chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin increasingly often offers up his own opinion—and not on trivia but on major issues. As was the case in his assessment of the Moscow events of 3-4 October, for instance. Whereas Nazarbayev quite evasively called Yeltsin's move "one way out of the political deadlock," Abdildin called it a "violation of the Constitution" and a "betrayal of his own oath."

There have been major contradictions between parliament on the one hand, and the president and government on the other hand, on the most fundamental issues of Kazakhstan's present-day history. It was the Supreme Council leaders who insisted on the speediest and unconditional introduction of a Kazakhstani currency, whereas the presidential side was doing everything it could to delay this. It was the deputies who, contrary to the government's calculations, raised the minimum wage and pension to 14,600 rubles [R] instead of the planned R10,000, which finally "finished off" the budget and left the Cabinet of Ministers in a state of shock...

Back on 10 November, during a meeting with journalists from one of the republic's newspapers, Nazarbayev advised that the new Kazakhstani Constitution that was adopted a year ago did not include his proposal about the possibility of either dissolving parliament or of impeaching the president. This was probably the first time that he had publicly stated his preference for direct presidential rule and the creation of a new parliament which would be both professional and small, but would deal exclusively with "laws alone."

On 15 November Kazakhstani "radical democrats" asked the president to take "full responsibility for his decisions," to form a new government, to head it up, abolishing the post of prime minister, and to join the struggle against nomenklatura clans and corruption. They also called on the Supreme Council to urgently adopt a new law on elections and to dissolve itself.

The parliamentarians are not yet in a mood to give in—they want to work out the 18 months they have left. So the coming December session of the republic's Supreme Council—which was undemocratically elected, of course, back under the communist system, with quotas for different social organizations—promises to be very dramatic and, in the event of hardline opposition, could have some sorry results. But, whatever the outcome, least of all is there any hope that the coming elections will accord with all the forms of civilized behavior—Kazakhstan is quite definitely moving toward autocracy, and it now sees this as its salvation.

Almaty Views Russian LDP Statement as 'Provocation'

LD2711190493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1443 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Kazakhstan's foreign ministry has described as provocation a recent statement on Russian television by leader of the Liberal Democratic Party [LDP] Vladimir Zhirinovskiy. In a statement in Almaty, it said Zhirinovskiy's speech was aimed at "fomenting ethnic strife and unsettling the situation in the republic." The ministry has drawn attention to the fact that there has been no official reaction in Moscow to Zhirinovskiy's attacks against sovereign Kazakhstan and its president.

The ministry could not afford turning a blind eye to the speech of a candidate taking part in Russia's election marathon, Deputy Kazakh Foreign Minister Konstantin Zhigalov told Interfax. He said Zhirinovskiy's statements contained "insulting attacks against President Nursultan Nazarbayev and open territorial claims to Kazakhstan" and were aimed at fuelling ethnic strife both in Russia and Kazakhstan.

The Kazakh official said that none of the Russian government or foreign ministry officials condemned Mr. Zhirinovskiy's anti-Kazakh statements or his brazen insinuations against President Nazarbayev.

Zhigalov said that a large number of candidates involved in Russia's election campaign were trying to use the status of Russian-speaking communities in Kazakhstan and other countries as a trump card. "Applied to Kazakhstan, this is totally unacceptable", he stressed. The official said Nazarbayev was elected as Kazakh president after winning 98.6 percent support on the ground including the local Russian-speaking community two years ago.

On the prospect of bilateral relations after Russia had squeezed Almaty out of the ruble zone, Zhigalov said that "no subjective factors will be able to shake our economic or political ties in future". Kazakhstan depends on 66

of its imports and a two thirds of its exports on Russia. "Our contacts are by far the closest than the rest of the former Soviet Union", he said.

Kyrgyzstan

Kulov Criticizes Government's Economic Program

LD2711092193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0746 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Speaking at an economic forum opening in Bishkek today, Kyrgyz Vice President Feliks Kulov gave his own interpretation of the Kyrgyz president's economic strategy. In his opinion, Askar Akayev put forward a profound economic program, not being an economist himself. Kulov believes that the presidential program has run counter to the program of radical reforms for 1994-1995 developed by the republican government. Kulov said he doubted the need for the government to develop such a program.

As he pointed out, the government should handle general issues being directed by a strategy developed by the president himself.

In turn, Prime Minister Tursunbek Chyngyshev told his last press conference that there were no contradictions between the two programs. He said the government program contained specific measures to boost the economic reform for 2 years, while the presidential one envisions guidelines in all spheres, from economics to politics and ideology. Since the opposition had repeatedly accused the president of the lack of a strategy and the government of the lack of a program, Chyngyshev pointed out that they had agreed to present both of them before the new parliamentary session.

Foreign Minister Karabayev Departs for Rome

LD2711155193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1543 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Mainayev]

[Text] Bishkek November 27 TASS—Ednan Karabayev, foreign minister of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, left for Rome on Saturday to take part in a meeting of foreign ministers of the member countries of the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) discussing problems of security in Europe.

After the end of this meeting, Ednan Karabayev intends to participate in a meeting of foreign ministers of NATO countries in Brussels where on December 3-4 a new concept of peacemaking activities of the North Atlantic Treaty will be discussed.

Akayev Relieves Oblast Official of Post

LD2711143293 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] The president of Kyrgyzstan has issued a decree in accordance with Clause (?71) of Kyrgyzstan's Constitution confirming statute No. 547 of the Government of Kyrgyzstan of 10 November 1993. This statute is on relieving Amdeberdiyev Ambumalyk of his post as head of administration of Olzhas district of Osh Oblast.

[Signed] President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akayev.

Akayev Names Envoy to Belgium, EC Commission, NATO

MK2611113593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "In Brief" column]

[Text] Bishkek—Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev signed an edict on 24 November tasking Chingiz Aytmatov with the duties of Kyrgyzstan's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Belgium, Kyrgyzstan's permanent representative at the EC Commission, and Kyrgyzstan's permanent representative at NATO. Chingiz Aytmatov is already ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Luxembourg.

Tajikistan

'Terrorists' Derail Train; CIS Force Patrols Track

LD2611105993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1008 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Galina Gridneva]

[Text] Dushanbe November 26 TASS—The collective peace-keeping forces deployed in Tajikistan by the Commonwealth countries neighbouring on this conflict-ravaged Central Asian republic, have taken over the patrolling of a railway stretch between Termez and Kurgan-Tyube where an act of terrorism was committed by armed opposition members on Thursday.

The terrorists planted four mines under the track and exploded them derailing a heavy goods train en route from the Uzbek city of Termez to the administrative centre of the Khatlon region of Tajikistan.

No casualties were reported but close to the site a car was found with three dead passengers and the driver. It is not ruled out that they had witnessed the act of subversion and the terrorists shot the people point-blank.

The investigation is now underway.

Report on Agenda of Supreme Soviet's 18th Session

LD2611183693 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Tajikistan Supreme Soviet Presidium issued a decree on the convening of the 18th session of the Supreme Soviet on 24 December in Dushanbe. The Supreme Soviet Presidium proposes the following items to be discussed this session: Report of the Tajikistan Council of Ministers on the republic's socioeconomic situation, the structure of the Council of Ministers, the

draft law on the republic's foreign economic activities, the draft law on limiting monopoly activities and development of competition, the draft law on the republic's currency system, the draft law on taxation of property belonging to real persons, the draft law on publishing the draft law on education, the draft law on the status of prosecutors, legal structures, and the Supreme Court of the Republic of Tajikistan, the draft law on the internal forces of the Ministry for Internal Affairs, the draft law on security [words indistinct] of the Supreme Soviet Presidium.

It is envisioned that a number of other questions concerning the state and the socioeconomic life of the republic will also be examined.

Afghan Government Delegation Departs Dushanbe

LD2911120493 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Russian 1000 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The visit of government delegation of the Islamic State of Afghanistan headed by Dr. Abdurahman, political adviser to the Afghan president, to our republic was fruitful.

A number of agreements on cooperation between the neighboring states, including on import of Afghan oil and on stabilization of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border, as well as other agreements, have been prepared in the course of the visit.

These documents will be studied by the Afghanistan Government, and there is a hope that they will be signed.

The Afghan Government delegation left Dushanbe.

Uzbekistan

Karimov's Trip to UK Described as 'Excellent'

PM2611162593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 93 First Edition p 3

[Boris Vinogradov report: "Gold Helps Islam Karimov To Find Road to the West"]

[Text] The diplomats who accompanied Uzbek President Islam Karimov on his trip to London described the visit's results as "excellent." Leaving aside a few tense moments when over lunch John Major touched on the vexed question of human rights in Uzbekistan, which, according to the English newspapers, caused his guest to lose his appetite somewhat, the discussions in London were really successful for the Uzbek side.

I. Karimov's first official visit to the British Isles was "bathed in gold." It became clear on the very first day that the Uzbek leader had made a significant deposit of gold in the Rothschild Bank as security for potential British investors.

Apart from this, an agreement was signed during the visit on setting up a major joint venture with the British Lonrho company to extract the yellow metal from Uzbek goldfields in the Kyzylkum desert near the city of Zarafshan, where the U.S. gold mining corporation Newmont Mining is already operating and has invested $157.5 million in extraction work.

Islam Karimov emphasized at a press conference that the London-based project, valued at about $250 million, will enable Uzbekistan to get hold of modern equipment, which it badly needs at the moment. In the opinion of Lonrho representative Dieter Bock, Uzbekistan will soon be eighth among the world's major gold-extracting countries. The enterprise will begin to bring the precious metal to the surface in 1996 and will reach a capacity of 480,000 ounces per year by the end of the 20th century.

A total of four agreements were signed in London concerning economic cooperation, the protection of investments, air communications, and freedom of movement on Uzbek territory. This last document has no parallels in relations with countries lying outside the CIS. But for the moment it is only a question of freedom of movement in Uzbekistan for British citizens. All the signs point to London not yet being ready to give the Uzbeks similar freedoms.

Armenia

Azerbaijan Reportedly Shelling Karabakh, Border

NC2711123193 Yerevan ARAGIL ELECTRONIC NEWS BULLETIN in English 0914 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Stepanakert ("AZG" daily), 27/11/93—The situation at RMK [Nagorno-Karabakh] fronts still remains extremely tense. According to Headquarters of RMK defense army, during the night and in the morning of November 26 the conflicting sides refrained from active military operations.

Nevertheless, Azeri formations continue to shell the Armenian positions at the whole length of the front line. On November 26 in the afternoon the enemy shelled from large caliber machine guns and mortars placed in Beylagan district military points the defense positions of RMK defense army in Fizuli district. No victims were caused. RMK armed forces refrained from retaliating.

No serious changes were reported at the Northern fronts and in Mardakert district. During the night of November 23 as a result of a mine explosion one soldier was killed and one injured.

On November 26 Azeri mass media spread information, that Gharabagh formations ostensibly captured 2 Azeri villages in Beylagan district. The Headquarters of RMK Defense Army rejected this information and stressed, that Kharabakh formations obeying the order of their commandment, are still at the positions of October 27. Meanwhile the Headquarters rejected the information of "Azatutyun" radio broadcasted on Friday night, that Armenian formations ostensibly commenced an extensive offensive in the afternoon of November 24, using significant amounts of armored equipment, and captured a joint Iran-Azeri object, gaining 161 km. of border with Iran.

Councillor of RMK Minister of Foreign Affair Manuel Sarkysyan said in this regard, mentioned that this was a small affair. The Councillor informed, that an Azeri military group placed near the old bridge at the border of Azerbaijan and Iran was constantly shelling at the Armenian defense positions, and therefore RMK forces had to take measures, as a result of which the group retaliated to Iran [as received].

According to Azeri "TURAN" news agency, during the recent days Armenia continues concentration of armed formations at the borders with Azerbaijan. During the last two weeks more than 6 thousand soldiers were redislocated in Krasnoselsky, Sisian, Megri, Tavush districts. Just to Krasnoselsky district was delivered a significant number of armored equipment and two [word indistinct] missile installations.

Nagorno-Karabakh Front Reportedly Quiet

NC2711200493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1150 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Stepanakert, November 27 (SNARK)—The Karabakh Defence Army is still avoid retaliating measures in a response of endless provocative shelling from Azerbaijan. This can explain the relative quietness, set some days ago. This is the opinion of the Karabakh Department of Information and Press, where SNARK received this information.

Karabakh Official Positive on Iranian Peace Efforts

NC2711193493 Yerevan SNARK in English 1435 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Stepanakert, November 27 (SNARK)—Karabakh leadership is adhere to a peaceful settlement to the conflict and efforts of international organizations on fastest establishing peace in the region, said Karabakh Foreign Minister Arkady Gukasyan to SNARK.

Asked whether further escalation of military actions in the closeness to the Irani state border could cause internationalization of the conflict, Karabakh foreign minister said that such development of events would have catastrophic consequences and expressed a hope that that would not take place in the future.

'We know, Mr. Gukasyan said, that Iran undertakes efforts to increase its role as a mediator in settlement to the Karabakh conflict, and in the minister's opinion, those Irani efforts are to be taken into consideration though because the Azerbaijani-Karabakh front line has close approached to the Irani border. [no end quote mark as received]

Karabakh Parliament Head's Letter to CSCE Detailed

NC2611140393 Yerevan SNARK in English 0922 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Stepanakert-Yerevan, November 26 (SNARK)—Stepanakert expressed his agreement on the latest suggestions of the CSCE Minsk group on the Karabakh conflict peaceful regulation without any preliminary conditions, the Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan said yesterday to the Heads of the diplomatic missions authorized in Yerevan.

In his letter to the Chairman of the CSCE Minsk Conference Mario Raffaelli the Head of the Karabakh Parliament Karen Baburyan expressed his hope the world community will accept the Karabakh good will to political regulation of the problem.

The message says that the Karabakh side expresses his content despite the serious comments on the "schedule of the extraordinary measures."

"In the case of any changes done under the Azerbaijani and Turkish or the other country's pressure the Karabakh side has the right to insist on considering the whole complex of the questions introduced by the Karabakh authorities," said the letter.

Country Sees Russian Stance as Pro-Azeri

MK2711092093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 26 Nov 93 pp 1, 3

[Liana Minasyan, Armen Khanbabyan report in the "Details" column: "The Kazimirov Incident: A View From Yerevan. The Armenian Leadership Sticks to Its Guns"]

[Text] Having stated that the incident involving Vladimir Kazimirov, Russian Federation ambassador at large, became possible only because the Azerbaijani side arbitrarily changed an earlier coordinated itinerary the Russian diplomat was to have used, the Armenian Government invited the Russian Federation to send a relevant commission to the area to investigate the incident and if the inquiry establishes the responsibility of the Armenian side, Yerevan would be ready to apologize in public.

After receiving the text of this statement, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev threatened the republic with sanctions and again called for apologies from Yerevan.

Armenian Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan, prior to leaving Moscow where he was on a working visit, said: "What we have here is partially absurd—the incident stems from an overemotional perception of political matters on both sides." The head of government, who would be directly confronted with the consequences of possible sanctions in his work, was apparently inclined to adopt a more conciliatory tone in the "correspondence" with the head of the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry. Yet the president, to whom Kozyrev has appealed, will hardly decide to revise the position already determined in the government statement.

Yerevan is drawing attention to the fact that, judging from the press conference by Ambassador Kazimirov in Moscow, he was not a direct witness to what happened. He was taken to the border line, whereupon one of the accompanying cars with armed Azerbaijani military personnel broke away. Some time later automatic rifle and grenade launcher fire came from behind a hill beyond visibility. Mr. Kazimirov therefore cannot allege that an attempt on his life had been made and, moreover, that it was the Armenians who opened fire. Neither can he suggest that the Azerbaijanis took him precisely to that point on the border where, under the agreement, he was to have been met by Armenian officials. Yerevan continues to maintain that the incident took place on another stretch of the border and that Ambassador Kazimirov might not have noticed this circumstance because he is not familiar with the site. And because the interpretation of the incident appears controversial, the tough position taken by Kozyrev is evoking a sharply negative reaction in Armenia.

Of course, there may be internal political motives behind Kozyrev's sharp reaction—he has started an active election campaign under the motto of "protecting Russia's interests in the neighboring countries," and in the course of his tour of Central Asia this line was met without particular enthusiasm or understanding by Presidents Karimov and Nazarbayev. Yerevan supposes that in the incident with Kazimirov the Russian Foreign Affairs Ministry needed an excuse for consolidating its relations with Baku. For example, Russia is very interested in having the new pipeline from Azerbaijan pass through its territory, and Moscow has already made a corresponding proposal to Baku. On the other hand, Turkey, supported by Britain, is interested in running this pipeline through its territory. It is quite likely that the current anti-Armenian campaign by the Russian Foreign Ministry has to do with Geydar Aliyev's vacillations on this matter and is designed to neutralize strong anti-Russian feelings in Azerbaijan which prevent the Baku leader from making a decision beneficial to Moscow.

The fact that on 22 November Azerbaijan rejected a new schedule proposed by the CSCE Minsk group for establishing a durable cease-fire in the region (Armenia and, for the first time, Nagorno-Karabakh accepted this schedule without any reservations), apparently occurred after Vladimir Kazimirov's six-day presence in Baku. Moscow undoubtedly is seeking to play the role of sole peacemaker in the region. This can be done on condition that the CSCE's peace initiatives are blocked, which is exactly what is happening at present. The fact that Andrey Kozyrev's threats of sanctions against Armenia came immediately after Yerevan and Stepanakert accepted the CSCE plan is symptomatic. It could be assumed that Russia will try to oust international mediators and play the role of a power "guarantor" in the region, strengthening its military positions in the Transcaucasus. The status of the Russian troops and their actions there have always been dubious and contradictory, and the attempts to obtain from the United Nations and the CSCE a mandate for them as a peacekeeping force have so far been rejected by international organizations. Especially since the Foreign Ministry has already indicated that it intends to compete with the West and in particular the United States, and not join its efforts in settling conflicts. Vladimir Kazimirov, for instance, has condemned the CSCE position as "setting itself against" Russia's peacemaking efforts in the region. Russia demands that its role as guarantor of stability in the post-Soviet space be recognized. But while stating that its immediate interests are affected in these regions, it is not only actively interfering in the course of conflicts but also trying to influence the political situation in the contiguous countries. Thus, commenting on the prospects, in particular for Armenian-Russian relations, Andrey Kozyrev stated that "there is a limit beyond which, under certain conditions, a mediation mission may turn into something different."

Stepanakert, however, believes that Azerbaijan has the mistaken impression that the cause of its defeats lies not

in Karabakh but in Russia, recognizing, however, the fact of Russia's political pressure at the talks. Armenia believes that until the CSCE and Moscow have worked out a single approach to the settlement, there will be no peace in the region.

Papazyan Leaves for Rome, Brussels, Vienna

NC2711081293 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] An Armenian delegation headed by Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan left for Rome today to participate in the fourth conference of CSCE foreign ministers from 30 November to 1 December. Among other problems, the meeting is expected to discuss a political settlement of the Karabakh conflict.

Papazyan plans to meet several CSCE foreign ministers.

The Armenian foreign minister will participate in a meeting of ministers of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Brussels on 3 December.

Armenian Foreign Minister Vahan Papazyan will visit Austria between 6-9 December. He is expected to meet the Austrian President Thomas Klestil and Foreign Minister Alois Mock in Vienna.

The Armenian foreign minister will attend the inauguration of the Armenian Embassy in Vienna and will meet Armenian community representatives.

An agreement to protect and encourage bilateral investment is expected to be signed during the meeting.

Rabin, 'Arafat Reply to President's Letters on Peace

NC2711081993 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan sent letters to the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat on 15 September. In his letters, the president welcomed their mutual recognition and the signing of the agreement on the creation of Palestinian autonomy in the Gaza Strip and Jericho.

Levon Ter-Petrosyan noted that this exceptionally significant historic event inspires hope that many other minor and major world conflicts could find similar peaceful solutions.

In his letters, the Armenian president emphasized the need for firm and stable peace in our region and the importance of the joint responsibility of the sides interested in peace to objectively assess the situation without seeking alternatives to peaceful resolutions.

Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin and PLO Chairman Yasir 'Arafat have sent reply letters to the president.

In his letter, the Israeli prime minister thanked the president for his supportive message on the agreement on mutual recognition signed between Israel and Palestine and on the Declaration of Principles and noted that his country is acting with definite courage to create opportunities for peace in the region. The letter said that Israel aspires to begin a new era of mutual recognition and good neighborliness in the Middle East. Yitzhaq Rabin wished the Armenian people success in establishing social and economic stability and in overcoming the difficulties.

In his letter, 'Arafat conveyed the deep gratitude of the members of the PLO Executive Committee to the Armenian president, government, and friendly people for their wholehearted congratulations and good wishes and expressed the hope that the agreement would help to find a just and lasting Middle East solution, which undoubtedly conforms with the desire to establish peace and cooperation among the states of the region, the Mediterranean basin, and the world.

'Arafat said: Using this opportunity, I inform Your Excellency of our consistent desire to consolidate bilateral ties of friendship and cooperation for the sake of mutual progress and development and for the sake of a just and stable peace in our region and the world.

Israeli Envoy Presents Credentials, Meets Bagratyan

NC2711082093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1800 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Israel's Ambassador Baruch Ben-Neria submitted his credentials to Armenian Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan today. The Israeli diplomat will serve in both Armenia and Georgia.

In accepting the ambassador's credentials, Vice President Gagik Arutyunyan hoped that henceforth more practical and [word indistinct] ties would be established between the two countries.

In briefing the ambassador on the economic and political situation in Armenia, the Armenian vice president said that the Armenian authorities realize that the economic situation and solution of the existing problems are connected with foreign policy. Therefore, Armenia is doing everything it can to establish stability in the region.

In expressing thanks for the warm reception, Mr. Ben-Neria noted that the submission of credentials is an affirmation of his and of his government's respect for the people of one of the most ancient countries of the world. He also noted that Israeli authorities, being well informed about the Armenian people thanks to the substantial Armenian community in Jerusalem, are interested in establishing close practical cooperation with Armenia within a short time.

It was noted during the conversation that it would be preferable to develop cooperation between Armenia and Israel in the spheres of science, agriculture, and health.

Already some work has been done in this direction. Opening the diplomatic mission will help render relations more productive.

The Armenian Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan received the Israeli Ambassador to Armenia Mr. Ben-Neria today.

They examined matters pertaining to Armenian-Israeli trade and economic cooperation, and agreement was reached to submit related draft agreements to the Israeli side. They also examined the possibility of Israel's participation in the creation of a foreign currency reserve to support the national currency put into circulation in Armenia in recent days.

In expressing satisfaction as regards the process launched for the peaceful resolution of Israeli-Palestinian conflict, the prime minister noted that Israel's experience in this field might be helpful in achieving success in efforts to resolve the Karabakh- Azerbaijan conflict.

Mr. Bagratyan requested that the ambassador convey his thanks to the Israeli Government for the humanitarian assistance being given to Armenia. Armenian children who were injured during the earthquake are being given medical treatment in Israel every year.

Vasili Gazaryan, head of the Armenian Government's Department of Foreign Affairs, and other officials were present at the meeting.

Azerbaijan

Troops Resolve To Retake Strategic Bridge

LD2611210993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Azeri government army is resolved to retaking control of a strategically important bridge across the Araks River on the Iranian border seized by Armenian forces on November 25, a defense ministry official told INTERFAX. Several military options are being considered, including airborne troops, he said.

The official said the Azeri troops guarding the bridge had to retreat into Iran following an Armenian advance.

Situated outside the small town of Goradiz in the Jebrail region, the bridge was used by Azerbaijan to ferry supplies via Iranian territory to Nakhichevan and the southwestern regions which were cut off from the rest of the country after Armenians took control of the Azeri-Iranian border.

Armenia is now in control of about 170 km of the country's border with Iran, the official said.

Armenians Reportedly Capture Town Near Iran

NC2611214293 Baku AZERTAC in English 1453 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Baku, November 26 (AZERTAC)—Yesterday Armenian troops undertook a three direction massive attack and captured the town of Khudaferin which is situated near the frontier between Azerbaijan and Iran. According to the Ministry of National Security of the Republic Armenians used the armoured military vehicles and infantry during the onslaught which was held from the enemy-occupied territory in the south-west of Azerbaijan. Azerbaijani frontier troops stationed here could not withstand the onslaught of the enemy superior forces and had to leave the town. According to the information available two Azeri soldiers were killed and four soldiers were heavily injured.

Baku Claims Armenia Shells Iranian Territory

NC2611214793 Baku AZERTAC in English 1404 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Baku, November 26 (AZERTAC)—According to the Department of Frontier Troops of the National Security Ministry of the Republic, on occupying the town of Khudaferin, Armenian Armed Forces control 161 km of the frontier between Azerbaijan and Iran.

Frontier engineering structure and installations of the Khudaferin hydro-electric power development which is being build jointly by Azerbaijan and Iran were robbed and burned as a result of the enemy's yesterday onslaught.

On suffering heavy casualties during a five-hour fight, Khudaferin frontier troops of the Azeri National Army had to retreat toward the frontier river of Araks and to cross it into Iran. According to the Department of the Frontier Troops Armenians subjected to bombardment frontier territory of the Islamic Republic of Iran. The Department of the Frontier Troops of the National Security Ministry of Azerbaijan considers this action of Armenia as a crude violation of the agreement on ceasefire. The statement which is adopted in this connection today, says that the actions like this are fraught with a internationalization of the conflict and may lead to grave consequences and Armenia will certainly bear responsibility.

Baku Reports Preparation for Armenian Offensive

LD2811171393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1607 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] According to the Azeri intelligence service, last night the Armenian armed forces moved about ten tanks and a rocket installation of the Uragan type to the north-western border of Azerbaijan in Idjevan District of Armenia. The district adjoins Kazakh District in Azerbaijan.

As Interfax learned from a source in the Azeri Defence Ministry, several dozen tanks and rocket installations of the Grad and Uragan type have been concentrated on the border of Kazakh District. According to Azeri military experts, these facts testify to preparations for a large-scale Armenian offensive in the north-western direction.

Sources in the Azeri Defence Ministry also report a concentration of Armenian troops and armored vehicles on the approaches to Geranboi and Terter Districts of Azerbaijan situated in the north of Karabakh.

Last night population centers in Beilagan District came under fire from the direction of Azerbaijan's Fizuli District invaded by Karabakh Armenians. Fortunately no one was injured.

Most of the Azeri refugees from the south-western districts of Azerbaijan captured by Karabakh Armenians are now in Beilagan District.

Envoy to UN Condemns Armenian Attack on Russian Envoy

LD2711004993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1827 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations November 26 TASS—Azerbaijan sharply denounces "the inhuman act against the Russian mediator who came to the region on a peace-making mission", says a letter of acting charge d'affaires of the Azeri permanent representation at the United Nations Yashar Aliyev circulated today at the United Nations headquarters as a document of the U.N. Security Council.

"Being deeply alarmed, I inform you of an extraordinary incident, responsibility for which is carried by the Republic of Armenia.

"Special representative of the Russian president and Ambassador at large Vladimir Kazimirov and the accompanying officials were put under intensive Armenian fire at 11 a.m. local time on November 20 when crossing the Azeri-Armenian border in the area of the Azeri Kazakh region in accordance with a previously reached agreement.

"Azeri servicemen, who accompanied the Russian representative were gravely wounded," says the letter.

The Armenian units used an air defence unit, An APC and large- caliber machine-guns to fire at the mediator's group when it was between the Azeri populated locality of Mazam and the Armenian- occupied Azeri settlement of Ashagy Askipara of the Kazakh region located hundreds of kilometers away from Nagorno-Karabakh.

"It seems Armenia does not limit itself to the aggression against Azerbaijan but also uses fire arms against the peaceful mediating mission staying in the region to hold negotiations and implement Resolutions 822, 853, 874 and 884 of the United Nations Security Council," noted the Azeri representative.

"The Republic of Azerbaijan strongly denounces the inhuman act of the Armed Forces of the Armenian Republic, which occupy part of the Azeri Kazakh region. The fact a mediator, who came to the area on a peace-making mission to help the Armenian-Azeri conflict settlement, cannot be justified. It is another evidence of Armenian unwillingness to settle the conflict peacefully," he stressed.

Baku Derides Yerevan, Karabakh Statement on Schedule

LD2911113493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1113 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Baku November 29 ITAR-TASS—Azerbaijan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs has described as another "propaganda mystification" the statement issued by Armenia and the Armenian community of Nagorno-Karabakh about their agreement to stick to the latest version of "the schedule of emergency measures" to implement resolutions of the United Nations Security Council concerning the settlement of the armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan.

Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry said in a statement released today the actual intentions of the Armenian side were made clear in a letter addressed to the chairman of the CSCE "Minsk conference on Nagorno-Karabakh signed by a certain Baburyan who claims the role of the leader of Karabakh Armenians for himself".

According to Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry, the statement by the representative of the Nagorno-Karabakh's Armenian community that he takes the term "party to the conflict" to mean "the recognition of Nagorno-Karabakh's international legal status of a warring party with the full measure of legal consequences" is fully at variance with the spirit and the letter of the timetable proposed by the nine. Azerbaijan's Foreign Ministry also believes that the Armenian side's statement concerning "extreme difficulties of withdrawing troops from some the regions of special significance for the Nagorno-Karabakh defence capability before the Minsk conference meets" is a direct challenge to the international community. It contradicts the earlier adopted security council resolutions which demand an immediate withdrawal of Armenian troops from the occupied Azeri territories.

Azerbaijan rejects such arbitrary interpretation of universally acknowledged norms of international law and confirms its readiness to solve the problem, including in the part relating to the Armenians inhabiting the Nagorno-Karabakh region, within the frame of their sovereign rights and on the basis of respect for the principle of territorial integrity.

Aliyev Discusses Railway Security With Dagestan Group

NC2711090093 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Azerbaijani president received a delegation from Dagestan today. Akif Mechitogly reports:

[Begin Mechitogly recording] Azerbaijani President Geydar Aliyev received a Dagestani delegation headed by Takibat Mahmutova, deputy chairman of the Dagestani Supreme Soviet. Aliyev welcomed the visit and spoke on the centuries of friendship between them.

Mahmutova said that over 100,000 Azerbaijanis live in Dagestan. She said the minorities in Dagestan live together in harmony.

The meeting discussed expanding bilateral economic and cultural ties, the urgency of ensuring the security of freight to Azerbaijan via Dagestan, and developing ties between the bordering rayons.

The Dagestan delegation noted that the Dagestani people support Azerbaijan in these difficult days. Fifteen trucks of foodstuffs and staples will be sent to the refugees in the coming days.

Azerbaijani State Secretary Lala Shovket Gadzhiyeva, Deputy Prime Minister Abbas Abbasov, State Adviser Hidayet Orudzhev, and Interior Minister Vagif Novruzov participated in the meeting. [end recording]

Parliament, Turkish, Iranian Officials Discuss Nakhichevan

NC2711080493 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Afiaddin Dzhalilov, the deputy chairman of the Azerbaijani Supreme Soviet, chaired a meeting today. Gulsafa Ahmedova reports:

[Begin Ahmedova recording] The meeting, attended by heads of ministries, committees, and enterprises, was devoted to analyzing and finding solutions to the socioeconomic situation in the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic.

Briefing the meeting on the difficulties faced by the autonomous republic over the five-year blockade resulting from Armenia's aggression, Dzhalilov discussed Turkish and Iranian assistance. He said the onset of the cold weather makes things worse; there is a lack of power and gas and measures to economize these resources have (?been exhausted). He noted that not even 10 percent of its energy needs are provided to Nakhichevan. It isn't getting natural gas and there are shortages of other types of fuel. Air transport is the only means of transport and it is being used. All the relevant organizations have a duty to eliminate this difficult situation.

The speakers briefed the meeting on the measures being taken and explained the problems. They said less power was coming from Turkey and Iran and that there were difficulties because of the delay in commissioning the gas pipeline coming from Iran and the granting of visas to the freight trucks going to Nakhichevan through Iranian territory. The meeting discussed ways to overcome the difficulties.

Dzhalilov discussed the shortcomings in the distribution of fuel to the enterprises in Nakhichevan and called for urgent measures against embezzlers and those who speculate on state property.

He called on the representatives from the Turkish and Iranian Embassies who were participating in the meeting to clarify several issues and help the Nakhichevan Autonomous Republic in these difficult times.

The participants in the meeting were given instructions on addressing the issues. [end recording]

Iranian Involvement Feared in Conflict With Armenia

MK2711110093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 27 Nov 93 p 3

[Aydyn Mekhtiyev report under the "Azerbaijan" rubric: "Danger of Iran's Involvement in Karabakh Conflict Grows. Baku Demands that Armenia Apologize to Russia for 20 November Incident"]

[Text] Having occupied the important Azeri population center of Khudaferin on 24 November, subunits of the Armenian Army are in control of more than 160 km of Azerbaijan's border with Iran. Armenian troops have launched an offensive from the territory of Azerbaijan's earlier occupied Dzhebrail Rayon, in the sector of the 9th, 10th, and 11th border troop posts that guard Azerbaijan's state border with neighboring Iran. In a statement, Azerbaijan's Ministry of National Security Border Troops Directorate notes that, as a result of a battle lasting more than five hours in direct proximity to the site of the joint Azerbaijan-Iran Khudaferin hydraulic development project, the Azeri troops retreated to the Araks River and were forced to cross over into the territory of Iran. Border engineering and technical facilities and other installations of the Khudaferin hydraulic development project were demolished, burned, and gutted.

According to experts in Baku, the latest military action by the Armenian side has further increased the danger of internationalization of the conflict and involving in it neighboring Iran, because the occupation of Khudaferin was attended by a massive shelling of Iranian villages contiguous with this Azeri population center.

In the meantime, officials in Baku have demanded that substantial changes should be made in the updated schedule for the settlement of the conflict proposed by the Minsk CSCE group. The Azeri community (50,000

people) expelled from Karabakh and led by Nizami Bakhmanov turned down this schedule completely. Baku expressed solidarity with the demand by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev that Yerevan should apologize and admit that it is guilty of shooting at the escort vehicle of the Russian diplomat Vladimir Kazimirov on 20 November on the border of Azerbaijan's Kazakh Rayon with Armenia. In an interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, Tofik Zulfugarov, section head of the Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry, dismissed Yerevan's attempts to shift the blame for the incident onto Azerbaijan. He underlined that the claim contained in the Armenian Government statement to the effect that the Azeri side had altered the route of the Russian mission's trip does not correspond with reality, because "someone who has visited this region at least once should know that there is one and only one tested route." Yerevan's proposals to Russian leaders about sending to the region a competent commission to investigate the incident is assessed by Tofik Zulfugarov, official spokesman of the Azerbaijan Foreign Ministry, as "an attempt by Armenia's leaders to evade responsibility for what happened." He said that Azerbaijan was not against creating such a commission, but in this case the incident evinces Yerevan's desire to stall for time. Tofik Zulfugarov subjected to criticism the statement made by Armenia President Levon Ter-Petrosyan at the meeting with the heads of diplomatic missions in Yerevan on 25 November to the effect that Armenia and Stepanakert had fulfilled their obligations under the UN Security Council resolutions. According to the Azeri diplomat, the Armenian side is still refusing to bow to the UN Security Council resolutions' demand to withdraw its troops from the occupied territories and to eliminate fully the other consequences of Armenia's aggression against Azerbaijan.

Aliyev's Imminent Ousting, Mutalibov's Comeback Rumored

MK2711125093 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian No. 84, 27 Nov 93 (Signed to press 26 Nov) p 4

[Mekhman Gafarly report: "Aliyev's Popularity Falling. Mutalibov Still Regards Himself as Legitimate President"]

[Text] Rumors circulating in Baku for a third week now have it that Ayaz Mutalibov, whose rating has recently shot up in the republic, may stage a comeback as Azerbaijan's president. A critical situation has taken shape in Azerbaijan following the freeing of prices of staple foods. The minimum wage of 700 manat (one manat equals three rubles on the black market today) is not enough even to pay for bread. As for the more than 1 million refugees, they simply face starvation. In the opinion of local observers, the future of Gaydar Aliyev's regime is sealed and his fall before the year is out is inevitable.

Your SEGODNYA correspondent was told at the independent television's AZERBAIJAN NEWS SERVICE that there are grounds to believe that an armed revolt against Geydar Aliyev may take place soon. Even the specific date—12 December—is named. Observers do not rule out that this rebellion too will be led by today's prime minister, Surat Guseynov, who stated in his television appearance the other day that Geydar Aliyev is giving him no chance to create a national army. Surat Guseynov's immediate entourage deny the rumors of an action being prepared by his supporters with the aim to remove today's president from power and to reinstate the former president, Mutalibov. But Guseynov's comrade, who wished to remain anonymous, confirmed that confrontation between Guseynov and Aliyev is heightening every day—and should it come to an armed standoff, Geydar Aliyev's fall will be instantaneous.

According to AZERBAIJAN NEWS SERVICE information, leading opposition parties are ready to support Mutalibov if he returns. Talking with your SEGODNYA correspondent, Ayaz Akhmedov, of the People's Front of Azerbaijan [PFA] press service, advised that "PFA leaders have officially denied similar rumors and stated that the People's Front has no links with the ex-president." At the same time, the PFA spokesman does not rule out the possibility of cooperation by the People's Front with Mutalibov.

In such influential parties as "Musavat" and the Party of National Independence of Azerbaijan, they neither confirmed nor denied rumors of links with the former president. In the press center of another opposition party—the Social Democratic Party—they openly stated support for him.

Your correspondent asked Azerbaijan ex-president Ayaz Mutalibov in person, who is currently in Moscow, to clarify the situation. Mr. Mutalibov stated that he still regards himself the legitimate president of Azerbaijan in exile, and his return to Azerbaijan would sooner or later take place. The ex-president, however, categorically denied the possibility of his resuming the president's seat by military means. He also denied having links with Surat Guseynov.

P.S. Read the full interview with Ayaz Mutalibov, ex-president of Azerbaijan, in our upcoming issues.

Opposition Parties Hold 'Roundtable'

NC2711144393 Baku TURAN in English 1216 GMT 27 Nov 93

["The Opposition Keeps Consolidating"—TURAN headline]

[Text] Baku November 27 (TURAN)—Today on the initiative of the National Independence Party the conference of the round table of political parties of Azerbaijan goes on in Baku.

The social-political situation in the country, and the coordinated actions of the political forces on solving the crisis is being discussed at the conference.

The representatives of Vahid Azerbaijan Party, Halg Dirchelish Party, Peasants Party, Social-Democratic Party, Bozgurd Party, Musavat Party, Milli Istiglal Party, etc. take part in the work of the round table.

The Popular Front of Azerbaijan does not participate at the conference of the round table.

Assembly Fails To Pass Bill on Press Restrictions

NC2611173393

[Editorial Report] Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri is monitored in progress at 1415 GMT carrying live coverage of a session of the Azerbaijan National Assembly debate on a bill calling for the suspension of certain articles in the press law until the future adoption of a new press law.

The Chairman of the National Assembly, Rasul Guliyev, is shown on the podium engaging in a debate with various deputies from the floor. Guliyev asks for the passage of the bill and criticizes the opposition papers for undermining national unity when it is most needed. He says that only President Geydar Aliyev can forge national unity around his leadership. Guliyev opposes the proposals for the creation of a coalition government and criticizes the opposition press for slandering Geydar Aliyev. In defending the Aliyev's communist past, Guliyev notes Aliyev's nationalistic credentials and says that Aliyev has managed to "Azerbaijanize" Baku's population and its educational system and increased Azerbaijan's industrial production, which has now become the foundation for Azerbaijan's independence. Guliyev then disagrees with leader of the opposition National Independence Party Etibar Mamedov's claim that the initiators of this bill "are getting ready to soon sell out Azerbaijan, bring in Russian troops, make huge concessions on petroleum and other issues, and make concessions detrimental to Azerbaijan's interests at talks with the Armenians, and are submitting this bill in order to prevent these things from being reported in the press."

At 1505 GMT, the National Assembly is shown casting secret votes on the bill. The result is said to be inconclusive, with only 22 deputies voting in favor and eight opposed. Guliyev then asks the deputies to vote by roll call to find out who opposes the bill. In the role call vote, 26 deputies vote for the bill and 2 against. This is declared insufficient to pass the bill. In the meantime, former foreign minister Tofik Gasymov and two other deputies are shown leaving the hall in protest of Guliyev's handling of the voting procedures. In an effort to secure the passage of the bill, one deputy suggests that the bill be amended to specify that the articles in question will be suspended for only two or three months. Guliyev opposes this proposal. Guliyev finally says: "I believe that we should consider the bill and the voting as a basic factor, and let us debate the legality of it at the next session."

The session is declared in recess at 1520 GMT. Baku television ends its live coverage at 1521 GMT.

National Assembly Discusses Defense, Press Issues

NC2611203093 Baku Azerbaycan Radio Televiziyasi Television Network in Azeri 1600 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The National Assembly held its regular session today, which was broadcast live on republican radio and television. Amendments to the Azerbaijani Constitution, the revised edition of the bill on the Azerbaijani Armed Forces, the bill on the defense law, the amendments and addenda to the criminal procedures law, and the bill on ensuring the implementation of Article 4 of the press law were examined and relevant decisions were adopted.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Addresses Meeting of Parliamentary Majority

LD2611190193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] A meeting of the parliamentary majority was held today in the session hall of the parliament building. A number of issues connected with the parliamentary activity was discussed, the resolving of which is of major importance for the normal functioning of this executive legislative body. Besides, trends of the parliamentary majority's work and the issue of setting up such an organizational body, which would play the role of the leading nucleus of the parliamentary majority and function permanently, were discussed at the meeting.

Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian parliament and head of state, in his speech at the meeting supported the creation of such a leading nucleus, made his corrections and suggestions in connection with the functioning of the parliamentary majority. The parliamentary majority, stressed Shevardnadze, must in effect define the quality of work of the whole of the parliament and at the same time it must reckon with the views and the stance of the parliamentary majority. [sentence as heard]

The parliamentary majority and its nucleus, continued the chairman of parliament, must convene frequently and define the agenda of sessions, discuss it beforehand, and only after that submit it for discussion to the parliament. The majority's nucleus must be guided only by one aim, to submit for discussion only those issues that are, first of all, in the interests of the government and not in the interests of one particular party, which is the case at the parliament collegium sessions now.

The head of state expressed his wish to participate in every session, given that the parliamentary work was well organized.

The parliamentary majority council was elected at the session. It will function permanently and supervise the work of the parliamentary majority.

Members of the council of the newly created political organization the Citizens' Union were present at the majority's session. Rezo Amashukeli made a speech on

their behalf at the session. A dialogue was held about issues of further relations between the parliamentary majority and the Citizens Union.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on New Political Party

LD2711064593 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1910 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Excerpts] In Tbilisi, the capital of the Georgian republic, the Georgian leader, Eduard Shevardnadze, made an announcement about the creation of a new party to be called the Union of Citizens of Georgia. This will be a democratic political organization for all the nation. The Georgian leader says that it will be engaged in the restoration of all that has been destroyed. [passage omitted]

In his interview to our correspondent, Eduard Shevardnadze substantiated the need for a new political party and explained its immediate tasks. He said the following:

Right from tomorrow we have to come to grips with all the problems, first of all political ones. He says that the problems are well known—the problems involved in the provision of the State entity, consolidation of all the peoples of the entire republic. We will also deal with the economic problems, including the immediate ones, among them starvation. The latter threat is quite real. Also urgent is the problem of radical economic reforms. Our party unites the people who have an equal approach to these problems. I do not doubt, Shevardnadze stresses, that the Union of Citizens will be a reliable and strong support for the state's democratic power.

Meanwhile, the situation in the country has aggravated even more, in spite of such extraordinary measures as the state of emergency and the sharply criticized decision on the joining of Georgia to the Commonwealth of Independent States. Up till now Eduard Shevardnadze has been as if above the existing parties and associations; (?thus) the decision to establish one's own party seems to stem from a desire to create a strong political foundation and, first of all, within the parliament, where he cannot reckon on the support from the large political blocs.

We have some information that the first party will admit the Georgian green movement, socio-democrats and the members of an influential society (Tbilisiyi), the Union of Citizens of Tbilisi, as well as the state officials of different ranks. The forecasts for the destiny of the Union of Citizens of Georgia vary, but observers are unanimous in that Georgia may face very grave consequences if the destructive forces operating within the republic are not quelled.

Party Issues Declaration of Goals

LD2811142393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1259 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] The Union of Georgian Citizens formed at the initiative of the Georgian leader, Eduard Shevardnadze, has called for establishing new relations with Russia. The union involves spokesmen for all ethnic groups, walks of life and religions in Georgia. Its declaration published in Tbilisi points to the fact that the two countries have common strategic interests in the Caucasus and the Black Sea area.

Besides, the union called for creating a solid legal base for the relationship between Georgia and Russia to make it possible for Georgia to become a prosperous state with inviolable territorial integrity, a guarantor of peace and stability in the Caucasus.

The declaration expresses the hope that with the victory of democracy in Russia the vestiges of imperial policy reflected in infringements on Georgian statehood will disappear.

The Union of Georgian Citizens expects to establish broad and diversified contacts with democratically-oriented parties and movements in Russia and in other independent countries involved in the Commonwealth, the declaration says.

Shevardnadze Criticizes 'Reactionary' Deputies

LD2911113693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1050 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Albert Kochetkov]

[Text] Tbilisi, 29 Nov—Eduard Shevardnadze made an important statement on Tbilisi radio today explaining the position of the political forces in the Georgian parliament. According to him, there is a group of reactionary deputies in the parliament who are interested in destabilizing the sociopolitical situation in the republic and who are impeding the creation of a democratic state.

It should be recalled that last week the head of the Georgian state proposed to the parliament, which had convened for a plenary session after a two-month break, that it suspend its work for a similar period in connection with the extension until 20 January of the state of emergency on the republic's territory. The parliamentarians rejected this proposal and decided to resume plenary sessions as normal.

It is characteristic that such a decision has caused a negative reation both from Eduard Shevardnadze and the supporters of his political course, and from the majority of the voters. The results of a public opinion poll among the inhabitants of Tbilisi published today show that the majority of those polled regard the parliament's decision to continues its work as a destablizing factor which is deepening the confrontation between Eduard Shevardnadze's supporters and opponents.

Calls For Parliamentary Elections

LD2911135693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1220 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By GEORGIAN NEWS AGENCY-TASS]

[Text] Tbilisi November 29 TASS—Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze said it was necessary to elect a new republican legislature, but added that the issue was not burning.

"The idea of new parliamentary elections has matured, but their holding is not an affair of today or tommorow", he said on the national radio on Monday.

Shevardnadze believes new elections will bring to "The political arena truly leading forces, and not occasional, unknown and small parties which got into the present-day parliament".

The Georgian leader favours the recently-created "Civic Union" which, according to him, "differs from opponents because it is not going to play on social difficulties and look for those to blame, but sets the task of saving the country".

Dwelling on the upcoming elections in Russia, Shevardnadze said he hoped democratic forces would win. "I expect the victory of democratic forces. The victory of reaction would ruin Georgia", he said.

Shevardnadze Attends Conference on Economic Stabilization

LD2811142293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1259 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] The liberalization of the credit and financial policy by the National Bank of Georgia has led to a situation whereby the worth of credits against minimal interests has twice exceeded the budget, all of which has undermined the Georgian economy, stated participants in a conference on economic stabilization and the improvement of the credit and financial system, held last Saturday [27 November] by Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze.

The participants in the conference, among them economists, bankers, tax-service workers and representatives of the law- enforcement bodies, believe that the National Bank's liberal policy led to hard-currency speculation.

Eduard Shevardnadze said that extraordinary measures must be taken to ensure the repayment of the loans and credits, and to create a stabilization fund of the Georgian coupon - the sole payment unit in Georgia. He promised to start legal action against the individuals who had used the credits for the purposes other than those stated in the agreements.

Shevardnadze also announced that he would pass a special resolution on measures to stabilize the credit and monetary system.

Shevardnadze Interviewed on War, CIS, Relation With West

BR2911125793 Brussels LE SOIR in French 29 Nov 93 p 2

[Interview by fax with Eduard Shevardnadze by Pol Mathil; date not given: "The Civil War in Georgia, the Future of the Nation and of Its President"]

[Text] [Mathil] Today, Georgia is a nation in pieces—weakened by the conflict in northern Ossetia, and humiliated by the defeat in Abkhazia, torn apart by civil war, "on its knees" as you described it, and facing economic disaster despite being one of the most prosperous of the former Soviet states. Georgia has once again been forced to call upon Russia for help. Was independence worth the price?

[Shevardnadze] The price of independence is always high, whether for individuals or nations. The longer the servitude, the higher the price. In our case, the bill is excessively high in real terms. This state of affairs is not only the consequence of our history, covering 70 years under the imperialist yoke, but also the result of a totally irrational and inept policy on the part of the "Zviadist" regime (i.e., that of former President Gamsakhurdia, ed.).

That was the source of our present economic chaos, the civil war, and the obscurantism of conscience. The Russian reactionary forces have given us no respite and have profited from every set of circumstances. Their actions are not limited merely to Georgia. The events of 3 and 4 October in Moscow bear witness to this. In my opinion, the defeat of the revanchist forces in Moscow signals the beginning of a new phase of Georgian-Russian relations.

No Future for Attempts To Reestablish Empire

[Mathil] Seen from a distance, Russia's role in the conflicts that have overwhelmed Georgia was at the very least ambiguous. First of all, it aided the Abkhazians in their war against Georgia, then it helped the Georgians rebuff the offensive launched by followers of former President Gamsakhurdia. What are the Russians playing at? Does Georgia's entry into the CIS signal a return to the Russian fold? Was that the price paid for receiving Russian aid?

[Shevardnadze] We agree on the contradictory nature of the Russian policy vis-a-vis Georgia. The explanation lies in Russia itself, with the polarization and conflicts at the level of the leadership in recent years. However, there can be no mention of "inevitability" and of "debt." Following the defeat of the reactionary forces in Russia, reaching a consensus in the relations between our two countries ought to be a natural process.

[Mathil] Russia has sought a political mandate and international material support, preferably from the United Nations. Did the West not give Russia a free hand in Georgia? Has it not recognized that Georgia remains within the sphere of Russian influence? Are you

in favor of such a tacit mandate given to Russia to send its troops into all the former Soviet republics? Is the CIS not the instrument for implementing this "neo-imperialist" policy?

[Shevardnadze] My belief is that no country may receive a mandate authorizing it to substitute for the United Nations or any other international organization. With regard to the utilization of Russian troops in one or other of the former Soviet republics, such commitments should only be possible on the basis of mutual agreements. "Spheres of influence," meanwhile, must of course serve the fulfillment of mutual interests.

From this point of view, for two neighboring countries like Georgia and Russia, it is necessary to bring about a confluence and agreement of interests. For Russia, Georgia constitutes a strategic ally, and the reverse also holds true. The important thing is to correctly interpret these interests and the methods for serving them. In my opinion, there is no future whatsoever for any attempts aimed at sticking the pieces of the empire back together again. Moreover, I believe that all sensible politicians have absorbed this notion.

[Mathil] Viewed from Tbilisi today, does the doctrine of Russian interests in the "close vicinity" not appear to be like the official doctrine of the Kremlin and of Mr. Yeltsin's team? Does this doctrine not remind you of the "Brezhnev doctrine" on the limited sovereignty of the socialist countries? Does Russia really have specific interests in Georgia and the Caucasus in general? In this context, what was your attitude during the crisis in Moscow in October? What is your reaction to its outcome?

[Shevardnadze] As we all know, the events of 3 and 4 October turned out to be an impressive victory for Yeltsin and his supporters. Nevertheless, it is clear that this does not rule out isolated attempts being made to reawaken the imperialist policy among the reactionary forces. However, these attempts are doomed to failure. President Yeltsin and his political allies see the need to conduct a civilized policy which respects the rights of new foreign countries. Consequently, I hope that the relations between Russia and the new states will resemble those between the United States and its close neighbors.

I Have Faith in a Happy Future for My Homeland

[Mathil] What future awaits Georgia? Do you believe that you will one day manage to reconquer Abkhazia? Do you think that it will one day be possible to overcome the legacy of hate, of the memory, and the consequences of ethnic cleansing and the Georgian exodus?

[Shevardnadze] On several occasions I have already affirmed my faith in a happy future for my homeland. Had this not been the case, I would not have agreed to take the reins of power. The Abkhazia problem was never one of opposition between Georgians and Abkhazians. In Abkhazia, and also in the region of Tsinkvali, we are witnessing the confrontation between imperialist forces and democracy.

Recently, we established that the true nature of this conflict had also affected the thinking of foreign journalists, politicians, and been reflected in scientific publications.

I firmly believe that justice will prevail in Abkhazia, that the refugees will return to their "blessed homelands," and that the government of the republic will regain jurisdiction. It cannot turn out otherwise, for the forces of the "red and brown" reaction are doomed to failure. I am convinced that even Ardzinba (the leader of the Abkhazian separatists, ed.) understands this.

[Mathil] For centuries, Georgia was a country characterized by tolerance, coexistence among ethnic groups, and a certain enjoyment of life. Today, it is in the hands of the clans and warlords. You returned to Georgia like a kind of prodigal son to put the country back together after the catastrophic period of rule under Zviad Gamsakhurdia. Are your achievements so far not disappointing? Does Georgia still have a chance of once again becoming the country that it once was? With or without you? You no longer have any friends. Are you a leader disappointed by his people? What do you say to those who tell you that there were neither wars nor famine under communism?

[Shevardnadze] You already know what I think about the future of Georgia. I still feel the support of my fellow countrymen. Thanks to them. However, I do not follow you when you claim that I no longer have any friends. It is true that many people criticize me, but does criticism always signify hostility? On the contrary, I find that criticism is often benevolent and useful.

As for the "communist idyll" of which some speak today, it is precisely that which led to our destruction, to chaos, and ruin.

There Should Be More Substantial Western Aid

[Mathil] During your years as the top diplomat advocating "perestroika" you gained both great international stature and extensive popularity in the Western world. Has the West, which you admired so much, done for Georgia what you asked of it in the very name of its "debt" vis-a-vis the people of "perestroika"? What could it still do now to help you save Georgia?

[Shevardnadze] I never called upon the West to "pay any debts." All I said was that billions of dollars have been saved as a result of the disappearance of the Cold War, and that an appropriate portion of this should be used to help the former Soviet republics resolve their serious problems.

Obviously, the West is already helping us. So we cannot but thank them for this. However, I believe that there should be more substantial Western aid, both in terms of

equipment and with regard to the aptitude to respond more quickly and effectively when providing operational aid for the new republics.

[Mathil] Is Georgia a "case" that is symptomatic of the disappearance of communism? Must the West bear such a case in mind when formulating its general strategy vis-a-vis Russia?

[Shevardnadze] From a certain point of view the fate of Georgia does indeed constitute an example. In its quest for liberty and democracy, the Georgian nation has paid an exorbitant price, with actions of reactionary elements on all sides. I share your view that the West must take account of the tremendous difficulties that the former Soviet republics are having to overcome in their endeavor to construct civilized states. It is my profound belief that the West must attempt to ease the difficult progress of the new republics.

Bomb Attempt Blocks Delegation's Leaving for Geneva Talks

LD2711184693 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1803 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Excerpt] As is known, a Georgian Government delegation led by Jaba Ioseliani [Mkhedrioni paramilitary group leader] should have left for Geneva today for talks with Abkhazians set for 30 November. However, an explosion occurred near Tbilisi airport. A car carrying Ioseliani to the airport was a few meters away from the site of the explosion when it happened.

[Begin unidentified official's recording] First of all, I would like our population to know that two days before we received information that attacks were being planned against Ioseliani and two other senior officials. Because of this, Ioseliani's guard was reinforced. A series of measures were implemented to avert a disaster. You know that the explosion was aimed at a car, which did not contain Ioseliani. He and his bodyguards were in another car. Fortunately, the bodyguards were not hurt either. In contrast with the first incident [reference to a similar attack against Ioseliani on 13 June 1992, which led to casualties], there were no victims from this attack. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Security Minister Blames Zviadists

LD2811124093 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Georgian Security Minister Igor Georgadze blames supporters of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia for the attempt on the life of Jaba Ioseliani. [passage omitted]

The security minister told journalists that his department possessed information about possible attempts on the lives of Ioseliani and two more senior officials in the republic's leadership who were not named. However, in spite of the available information and measures that were taken, it proved impossible to stop the terrorist act. A similar attempt on Jaba Ioseliani's life was made a year and a half ago, and several people were killed, says INTERFAX.

Deputy Prime Minister Pessimistic About Geneva Talks

LD2711000293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1752 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoria]

[Text] Tbilisi, November 26 (TASS)—Vice-Premier of the Georgian Government Tamaz Nadareishvily made it clear that Georgia does not expect the upcoming talks on the Abkhazian problem to be held in Geneva under the U.N. auspices to bring about any tangible results.

Nadareishvili said in an interview with ITAR-TASS today "I see no way from Switzerland to Sukhumi but I believe that the Georgian delegation must take part in the Geneva meeting, since it is necessary to take even the slightest chance to resolve problems connected with Abkhazia."

Nadareishvili expressed the same idea speaking on national television. He pointed out that it is necessary to take every chance, including the talks in Geneva, to reach political settlement of the Abkhazian problem."

Nadareishvily was appointed vice-premier a month ago. Until July, 1993 he had been chairman of the Abkhazian Council of Ministers. At present, he has been entrusted with the coordination of all problems connected with Abkhazia.

The Georgian delegation to the Geneva talks includes Jaba Ioseliani, head of the delegation and a parliament deputy; Levan Aleksidze, an academician and a lawyer; Mikhail Ukleba, deputy foreign minister; Sandro Kavsadze, chairman of the state committee for international relations; Zurab Erkvania, currently president of the Council of Ministers of the Abkhazian Autonomous Republic (this is the Georgian administration of Abkhazia which was forced to leave Sukhumi at the end of September and which is currently operating in Tbilisi).

Exiled Abkhaz Government Hopeful About Geneva Talks

LD2711033293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1343 GMT 26 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Pachkoriya]

[Text] Tbilisi, 26 Nov—All the possibilities for settling the Abkhaz-Georgian confrontation peacefully have not yet been exhausted. In response to an appeal from world public opinion and a proposal from the UN Security Council, we are going to take part in talks once more, placing our hopes in the peacemaking efforts of the Russian Federation and other members of the world community which are trying to find a peaceful solution to the problem.

These words come in a statement by the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, which is functioning temporarily in Tbilisi (the Georgian administration of Abkhazia, which was forced to leave Abkhazia in September as a result of the offensive by Abkhaz and North Caucasian armed formations).

The statement was circulated ahead of the peace talks in Geneva between official representatives of the Republic of Georgia and the separatist forces of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia, with UN mediation and the participation of a representative of the Russian Government.

Attached to the statement is a package of proposals from the Council of Ministers of the Autonomous Republic of Abkhazia on a full-scale political settlement of the armed conflict in Abkhazia.

Growing Economic Crisis Seen as 'Greatest Danger'

PM2611114193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 3

[Albert Yeremyan report: "Georgia: Russians Come To Help"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The extension of the state of emergency through 20 January has been welcomed with understanding by Tbilisi's public. Although the crime situation in the republic's capital has improved a little, there is still a long way to go before its complete stabilization.

The greatest danger is the deepening economic crisis. The majority of the republic's industrial enterprises are standing idle due to a lack of raw materials and disruptions in the electricity supply. The Georgian coupon exchange rate is plummeting. As this report was being written, 1,000 Russian rubles could be exchanged for 40,000 coupons. Unemployment is rising and market prices are rocketing, while state store shelves are empty. In fact, only bread can be obtained in these stores. It constitutes the main dietary element for the majority of the republic's citizens.

People wait in line throughout the night, but there is not enough bread for everybody. The bread shortage is created artificially—a whole mafia of speculators is in operation.

Discussions on rationing bread have been going on in various authoritative organs for several days now. And although the example of a number of cities and regions in Georgia shows that such a measure would be justified, this question has yet to be resolved in the capital. At a recent conference in City Hall, Eduard Shevardnadze categorically demanded that it be ensured that the 600 tonnes of bread required for Tbilisi's inhabitants is baked, that trade in this commodity at commercial prices be halted pending the introduction of rationing, and that strict control over the quality of the finished product be established. The question of protecting bakeries from pilferers looms urgently. But the lone forces of the Tbilisi police are not sufficient for this, and thus they will be helped by Army subunits.

During a recent visit to Moscow, members of a Georgian Internal Affairs Ministry delegation met with their Russian colleagues. Questions of cooperation between the two ministries were raised at the talks, and projects for possible joint measures in the fight against crime were examined. The Russians also promised aid in the form of supplies of military equipment, night vision apparatus, and means of communication and personal defense, all of which are necessary to protect vitally important facilities.

Thanks to Russian help, railroad communications in the direction of Western Georgia, which were cut off as a result of recent military operations, have been practically restored. Russian marines are performing a humanitarian mission to protect the transport infrastructure in this region of the republic. The situation in the region is also being controlled by three ships carrying armored hardware.

Defense Ministry To Guard Bakeries

LD2811195493 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Interview with Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili by correspondent Merab Beradze in Tbilisi; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Beradze] In normal countries and under normal circumstances, bakeries are not guarded by armed people. In this respect, the situation is very complex to us. I have spoken with heads of bakeries, and they told me that guarding bakeries had failed and that you had decided that your ministry would undertake this function. Bakers promise that supplying the population with bread will improve considerably if this issue is resolved positively.

[Karkarashvili] Today's unpleasant situation hurts every citizen of Tbilisi and every Georgian. Therefore, the Defense Ministry made a decision at the collegium that infantry personnel must be chosen to guard every bakery and bread installation as of 30 November.

A relevant discussion on this issue has already been held at the mayor's office, where we came up with our proposal. The mayor accepted it. We have decided to participate in seriously guarding not only bakeries but other vital installations—to carry out this humanitarian act, if it can be considered a humanitarian act. The problem is that this decision is not just our initiative. Those incidents that take place at bakeries are connected with our reputation. When armed people approach bakeries, our Defense Ministry has the right to express an interest as to which armed person carries out an attack.

The decision has already been made, and the chosen units are getting ready quite seriously. Of course, arms will not be used. This is out of the question. But every

entry to these bakeries will be blocked off. Regulations for every checkpoint have already been worked out. I can promise employees of bakeries and the population that we will manage to guard bread supplies beginning 30 November.

[Beradze] I know that you are very busy, and you will probably not be able to monitor it personally. Who will be responsible for carrying out this measure?

[Karkarashvili] I will.

[Beradze] Thank you.

Troops Sent To Evacuate Civilians From Gulripsh Region

LD2911134993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1227 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] Georgian Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili has sent additional units of government troops to the east of Abkhazia's Gulripsh Region to evacuate Georgian civilians from the villages located in the Kodor ravine, the Georgian Defense Ministry's press center told Interfax.

The same source reports that there are about 1,500 Georgians and more than a thousand refugees from Abkhazia's coastal regions in these villages. The Abkhazian formations and "volunteers" of the Confederation of the Caucasian Peoples are being concentrated in this region in order to clear the area of Georgians, said a representative of the press center. He also said that armed clashes occurred in this region recently between Abkhazian formations and Georgian troops. Both sides sustained losses.

Foreign Ministry Charges 'Ethnic Cleansing'

LD2811211193 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1800 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] According to the reports of the CONTACT news agency, the Georgian Republic Foreign Ministry today circulated the following statement:

Armed formations of Abkhaz extremists launched a wide-scale operation on the Gulripshi Rayon's mountain villages populated by Georgians. There are casualties among civilians. The Abkhaz side's justification of this savage action, citing the existence of Georgian Army gang formations in the mountain regions of Gulripshi Rayon, is nothing less than a desperate attempt to justify a criminal act.

The Georgian Republic Foreign Ministry assesses this instance as a new wave of the established practice of genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Georgian population in Abkhazia.

It is especially alarming that the similar activities of the Abkhaz side, as a rule, start at a time when the Georgian side is making active efforts to settle the Abkhaz conflict peacefully. It is beyond doubt that in this specific case, the Abkhaz side's activities are aimed at wrecking the Geneva meeting.

Georgian authorities have always supported Abkhazia's state autonomy within the Georgian state. Abkhaz extremists need to cast a shadow of doubt and artificially exaggerate this issue in order to once again escalate the conflict to pursue their own ambitious goals.

The Georgian Republic Foreign Ministry hopes that the Russian Government, which undertook the role of a mediator in resolving the conflict, will take decisive measures to avoid a fresh bloodshed.

The Georgian Republic Foreign Ministry is expressing a firm protest against the Abkhaz extremists' provocative activities and once again declares that if they continue this way, the whole responsibility for wrecking the Geneva talks will lie on the Abkhaz side with all ensuing consequences.

Abkhazia Denies Charge

LD2911153193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1320 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Godnusov]

[Text] Moscow, 29 Nov—The Republic of Abkhazia's permanent mission in Russia today issued a statement categorically denying the report alleging that there had been "ethnic cleansing" and violence with respect to civilians living on Abkhaz territory. The document stresses that the "Abkhaz Government guarantees the safety of all those living in the republic, regardless of their nationality." Force is only used against bandit formations carrying out murders of civilians, robberies and arson.

ITAR-TASS also received a statement from the Abkhaz defense minister today asserting that the number of citizens of Georgian nationality returning to their homes has significantly increased recently. At the same time, according to the same source, reconnaisance and raiding groups, fighting equipment and ammunition are being sent from Georgian to Abkhaz territory by air and land. Abkhaz formations have already neutralized several such groups.

The Abkhaz Defense Ministry concludes from this that "the Georgian leadership does not wish to stabilize the situation in the region and is again demonstrating a desire to solve the issue of mutual relations between Abkhazia and Georgia with the use of force."

Attack on Russian Border Guard Convoy in Tbilisi Denied

LD2711220193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 27 Nov 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A group of armed individuals in three cars launched a criminal attack on a convoy of Russian border troops in Tbilisi today. A statement circulated by the headquarters of the Russian border troops claims that the action was prepared beforehand as another armed group was hiding not far from the scene of the incident. The command of the Russian border troops demanded that Georgia take decisive measures to prevent such provocations, which have taken place in the past, from happening again.

But just an hour ago, our correspondent in Tbilisi Nikolay Kandiashvili, phoned our editor's office and said that the Georgian Security and Defense Ministries had denied the report about the attack on a convoy of Russian forces. Both the ministries stated that they had only learned of this incident from the "Vesti" program on Russian television and the Ostankino television newscast.

Security Situation Affecting Diplomatic Corps

PM2611121993 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 1

[Sergey Chernykh report: "Ambassadors Hunted"]

[Text] Tbilisi—The Hungarian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Georgia has left for Moscow and has not returned here. Before leaving Yerevan for Tbilisi he held talks with the local leadership and learned that the republic's Ministry of Security could not guarantee his safety on Georgian territory. The ambassador decided to fly to Tbilisi via Moscow, but has still not shown up.

The Vatican envoy was robbed a few days ago.

The U.S. and Armenian consuls on Georgian territory were robbed just before this.

Earlier still Vladimir Golub, military attache at the Russian Embassy, was beaten up and robbed. They took everything, including six bottles of brandy.

This list began with Fred Woodruff, the U.S. citizen mysteriously killed near Tbilisi.

Kent Brown, the U.S. ambassador to Georgia, has denied rumors that the U.S. diplomatic corps is leaving Georgia. Brown said merely that he would not stand in the way of those wanting to leave. In the same statement the ambassador advised American citizens not to visit the republic in the immediate future.

Special red license plates were recently fixed to embassy vehicles. The argument was that it would make the vehicles easier to recognize. This has been a great help to the criminal world—after all, there is always money to be made from cars carrying foreign citizens.

The diplomatic police have not been much use either. When they were set up, the public were assured that 160 men would be ample to guarantee the safety of the foreign missions. Now a number of embassies are paying for their own security.

Black Sea Warships Guard Poti Facilities

PM2611112593 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Nov 93 p 1

[Vladimir Pasyakin report under the "From Our Information Bureau" rubric: "Nighttime Shooting Continues in Poti"]

[Text] As we have already reported, Black Sea Fleet ships have taken up position in the port of Poti—the large amphibious warfare ship BDK-54 and the ocean minesweeper Snayper. The guards patrol ship Krasnyy Kavkaz is positioned in Poti roadstead.

The ships are guarding the waters of the port and naval transportation communications. Together with the city authorities, the Black Sea Fleet sailors are implementing the security arrangements that have been put in place and are helping to control the situation in the city. Unfortunately, there is gunfire every night in Poti: The population has plenty of weapons.

Marines Patrol City Port

LD2611231093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1501 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Naval commanders of the Black Sea Fleet have ordered mobile units of Russian marines to start patrolling the streets of the Georgian port of Poti following an overnight shooting incident which left two people injured. Russian troops did not intervene.

The shooting is believed to have taken place between Georgian government troops and rebel units loyal to deposed President Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

The BF [Black Sea Fleet] commandant warned Poti residents about the need to comply with curfew regulations.

The BF deploys a total of 102 marines in Poti and three Russian warships are anchored off the city's coast.

Gamsakhurdia Supporters Said Eliminated in Gori

LD2611212893 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1830 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] According to reports from the procurator's office in the town of Gori [west of Tbilisi], a gang of former President Gamsakhurdia's supporters has been eliminated. One of the crimes committed by the gang was an armed attack on the retransmission station.

In the skirmish with law enforcement bodies and the Gori branch of Mkhedrioni, one of the bandits was killed and two wounded.

Abkhaz Troops Clear Nizhnyaya Lata of Georgian Troops

LD2711115893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0950 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Irina Shchegoleva]

[Text] Sochi, 27 Nov—Abkhaz armed forces are continuing the operation to free the republic of subunits of Georgian armed forces. According to information from the Ministry of Defense of Abkhazia, the operation is being carried out in Galskiy rayon and in the Kodorskiy gorge. According to the same source, the populated locality of Nizhnyaya Lata has been freed. Small arms are being used in the battles.

It is reported that things remain relatively calm on the border of Abkhazia along the Inguri River.

50 Gamsakhurdia Supporters Surrender in West

LD2711145393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1428 GMT 27 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Dzhibuti]

[Text] Moscow November 27 TASS—Fifty supporters of Georgian ex-president Zviad Gamsakhurdia surrendered to local authorities in Western Georgia on Saturday [27 November].

They also handed over to the authorities two tanks, two armoured personnel carriers, four anti-aircraft guns and one missile launcher, as well as two truck loads of ammunition, the press service of the Georgian Interior Ministry told ITAR-TASS on Saturday.

The press service said that local residents who supported Gamsakhurdia handed over more than 200 sub-machine guns and large amounts of ammunition over the part two days.

Abkhaz Troops Capture Threee Mountain Villages

LD2911110693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0923 GMT 29 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tengiz Jibuti]

[Text] Moscow November 29 TASS—Three Georgian villages located high up in the mountains in Abkhazian Svanetia—Lata, Chkhalta and Adzhara—have been captured by Abkhaz troops as a result of the offensive they launched on November 25. Some villagers and combatants of the local self-defence force were killed and wounded in the course of the operation, sources in the Georgian Defence Ministry told ITAR-TASS by telephone today.

According to the same sources, the Abkhazian troops are now ready to launch further offensive against the Abkhazian Svanetia. Next on the plan are two other villages in this mountainous area—Gentsvishi and Saken.

Tbilisi, Other Areas Face 'Desperate' Power Problems

LD2611132293 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Cutting off electrical power to the whole Tbilisi, as well as having people left in blacked out underground tunnels, has become common lately. Power was again cut off to nearly the whole city on 24 November. The population has stopped voicing its indignation because all this seems so ordinary.

As for other regions of Georgia, electric power is hardly supplied there. The situation in the Kakheti region is especially desperate. The population of the region remains almost in permanent darkness. On 23 November, the whole town of Kutaisi was left without power.

Taking into consideration the severity of the winter and a 50 percent reduction of the gas supply from Turkmenistan, the next three or four months will be very hard for Georgia.

'Whole Regions' Lack Electricity

NC2711195793 Yerevan SNARK in English 1150 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Tbilisi, November 27 (SNARK)—Today the whole regions of Georgia, as two weeks ago, are without light. The reason is the next accident in the republican energy supply system. As SNARK was informed at the Georgian Energetic Department, this time the high-voltage line Lisi Ksani is out of order. The diversion is suspected.

At the present only two blocks of the Tbilisi Hydroelectric Power Station are functioning. Two more blocks are supposed to be involved by today's end. The Tbilisi subway is still idle. The same goes with automatic telephone stations. The city traffic vehicles are working with breaks.

Power Line Blown Up

LD2711211893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Electricity supplies have been cut off to the whole of the republic this evening. We contacted Iuri Chedia, head of the Georgian energy department, for an explanation.

[Begin recording] [Chedia] The power system has been disrupted. Output is low. A 500-kw line between the Enguri hydroelectric plant and the Tbilisi regional power plant was blown up. This has reduced the reliability of the power system. The Inguri plant is unable to produce the output required, so that even a slight fluctuation could affect regularity of output. Repair work is now under way.

[Correspondent] When will the republic receive power again?

[Chedia] The metro is already getting electricity and there are other facilities in Tbilisi, Kutaisi, and western Georgia which are being supplied. In about half an hour or 40 minutes it will be restored. [end recording]

Russia Replaces Peacekeepers in South Ossetia

LD2811154393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1454 GMT 28 Nov 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Mikhail Shevtsov]

[Text] Vladikavkaz November 28 TASS—Russia replaced part of its peace-keeping forces in South Ossetia on Sunday by sending over there an OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] anti-riot police unit from St. Petersburg.

The St. Petersburg paratroopers will replace their colleagues who have stayed in the region for six months.

Russian troops are the only guarantor of stability in the region preventing the resumption of the Georgian-Ossetian war, Aleksandr Studenikin, commander of Russian peace-keepers in South ossetia, told ITAR-TASS.

Russian peace-keeping troops have been in the region since July 14, 1992. They operate in conjunction with their colleagues from Ossetia and Georgia.

Foreign Minister, Delegation Depart for CSCE Council

LD2711095893 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0900 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] A three-member Ministry of Foreign Affairs delegation led by Foreign Minister Aleksandr Chikvadze left for Rome today to participate in the work of the CSCE Council.

The issues of further activities of the CSCE and the effectiveness of peaceful measures as well as regional issues will be discussed at the meeting of ministers in Rome. Chikvadze's speech will stress the importance of resolving regional issues in Europe for guaranteeing security in Europe in general, as well as the CSCE's more active participation in settling various conflicts, particularly the final settlement of the Abkhaz conflict on the basis of adhering to the principles of the territorial integrity of states.

After Rome, the delegation will participate in the NATO session to be held in Brussels at NATO headquarters. The council, apart from the NATO member-countries, includes the former Warsaw Pact countries as well as the new states created on the territory of the former Soviet Union.

Estonia

Laar Seeks Full EC Membership by Year 2000

WS2411134093 Tallinn BNS in English 2355 GMT 23 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 23, BNS - Estonia intends to become a full member of the European Community by the turn of the millennium, Prime Minister Mart Laar said in today's issue of the POSTIMEES newspaper.

The premier said the government plans to set up a commission in the next two weeks to prepare Estonia's bid for EC membership and to draw up the application.

Laar claimed Estonia hopes to skip the status of an associated member and move directly to full member status in the organization. "We shall follow the Nordic countries' example," he said. "We shall start with a free-trade agreement and then become a full member."

The negotiations for concluding a free-trade agreement between Estonia and the EC are in progress.

Iver Raig, one of the leaders of the Estonian Rural Centrist Party in the ruling coalition, has, in recent weeks, been actively promoting Estonia's membership in the EC.

Raig told the POSTIMEES that the EC may "close the door" for Estonia after admitting Central Europe's post-communist states. In Raig's opinion, the EC pragmatists might initially consider Estonia and Slovenia as the organization's new members.

Raig says many Estonian economic indices make the country eligible for EC membership already. In his opinion, Estonia should apply for membership in the second half of next year when Germany, who favors Estonia, presides over the EC. Estonia should aim at the year 2000 for becoming an EC member, he said.

Despite the statement the premier made today, the Estonian public has not yet begun to discuss the issue. Although opinion polls indicate strong support for Estonia's EC membership, most people don't understand what the step means in essence.

The newly-founded Estonian National Progress Party opposes Estonia's EC bid and a leftist faction in the Social Democratic Party has also raised objections.

Official Criticizes Laar Remarks

WS2511131193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0826 GMT 25 Nov 93

[From 25 November RAHVA HAAL, POSTIMEES, p 1]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Riigikogu [parliament] foreign affairs commission chairman Vello Saatpalu has criticized the recent statements of Prime Minister Mart Laar and President Lennart Meri on Estonia's desire to join the EC and the NATO. "Influential Estonian politicians take an excessive responsibility and I can only consider these statements to express their personal views," Saatpalu said. He added that the foreign affairs commission was not informed of the prime minister's intent to form a commission for joining the EC and the presidential statement was not coordinated with the commission either.

Legislature Discusses Weapons Bought From Israel

WS2611114193 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 1002 GMT 24 Nov 93

[From 23 November RAHVA HAAL, POSTIMEES, PAEVALEHT, p 1]

[Excerpt] Tuesday, November 23—Yesterday's session opened with the answers to the members' questions. Most of it was occupied by Defence Minister Juri Luik and MP Toomas Alatalu, the latter had seven different inquiries concerning the Israeli weapons.

Luik defended the government's decision to buy weapons from Israel, explaining that other alternatives were less convenient. China and Romania had required immediate payment of the entire sum while trade with South Africa would have been complicated by a number of international agreements. As for the price, Luik referred to the presence of a number of influencing factors and stressed that it was not excessive.

He rejected the accusation of Peeter Lorents concerning the alleged low quality of some items. The Israeli weapons have been tested in African heat and Norwegian 40-degree cold, Luik announced. The minister further explained that the ammunition of the machine pistols and assault rifles corresponds to the NATO standards and could be purchased in a number of states. Some Estonian firms are also making preparations for the production of ammunition and the Defence Ministry is supporting their efforts, he added. Luik further stressed that the Israeli weapons have a year's guarantee and that the consignment included spare parts.

The minister admitted that the weapons purchase favourably influenced the Estonian-Russian relations. "Strength always has a positive influence. Russia may have had an impression that Estonia will remain politically isolated forever," he said. [passage omitted]

Saatpalu Urges Compromise on Russian Border

WS2911130193 Tallinn BNS in English 1726 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 26, BNS—Estonia must compromise on where its border with Russia should pass, said the chairman of the parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission, Vello Saatpalu.

He noted in an interview with the newspaper HOMMIKULEHT Friday that, under the word compromise, he implies "mainly the straightening up of the border

line and mutual territorial compensation." He declined to specify his proposal and only remarked that "compromise should be negotiated in the hush of office rooms rather than in newspaper columns."

"Besides," he said, "such talk is premature since neither Estonia nor Russia have yet recognized the peace treaty signed in Tartu in 1920."

Ex-Leader of Military Unit Arrested After Shooting

WS2911123493 Tallinn BNS in English 1726 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 26, BNS—Special police task force today arrested the former leader of the Laanemaa volunteer infantry company, Asso Kommer, after a bloody shootout and a search on the outskirts of Tallinn.

Also arrested were three men who were in Kommer's car at the time that the former commander wounded two police and escaped arrest earlier today. The police discovered three guns with the group.

Kommer was caught shortly before 4 p.m. near the storage depots of Eesti Metallieksport at Paaskula, on the outskirts of Tallinn. Police searched the place after Kommer's red Lada 21099 was found parked there.

About two hours earlier, three employees of the anti-organized- crime section of the central criminal police tried to stop Kommer's car near a railway overpass on Parnu road, near central Tallinn. Kommer came out of his car and shot the commissar of the department, Koit Pikaro, in the leg. He also wounded another policeman in the stomach.

Pikaro was taken to hospital. His wounds were characterized by doctors as "serious."

Kommer fled in his red Lada, with defense-forces' license plates. The rear window of the Lada was broken by a bullet.

According to information obtained by BNS, the "K" special police task force was dispatched to chase Kommer.

About 45 minutes later, an unidentified person called the parliamentary state defense commission and said Kommer's car had been attacked.

The "K" unit on Nov. 23 carried out an operation in the northwestern regional capital Haapsalu in an attempt to arrest Kommer. A criminal case has been initiated against Kommer for his part in the events in July, when the volunteer company refused to obey orders by the central command of Estonia's defense forces. Kommer remained free during the investigation, after he signed an agreement obligating him to appear before investigators when called.

The police failed to find Kommer in the Nov. 23 operation but detained eight members of the former volunteer unit instead. The men, who claim they were heavily beaten and then kept in custody for a few hours, are now members of the Defense Union's Haapsalu regional unit.

Kommer became widely known in the late 1980s as one of the leaders of the Geneva '49 movement, which stood for the Estonians' right to refuse to serve in the armed forces of the occupying country, the Soviet Union. The leader of the then Estonian government-in-exile, Heinrich Mark, granted Kommer the military rank of captain. The young officer continued his career as the head of the Parnu unit of the Defense Union and later, as the commander of the Laanemaa volunteer infantry company. The government dismissed Kommer from the post July

Infantry on Heightened Alert

WS2911122193 Tallinn BNS in English 1626 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] TALLINN, Nov 27, BNS—The Laanemaa infantry unit of Estonia's Defense Union, stationed at Pullapaa, has been brought into a state of increased combat readiness "just in case," the unit's commander Riho Uhtegi said.

He said everything was quiet at Pullapaa but added that he couldn't rule out the possibility of an attack.

Commenting on the past week's police operations, which led to the arrest of the company's former leaders Lembit Tonsi and Asso Kommer, and a third member of the unit, Uhtegi said the events had made him "very nervous."

Several members of the unit received minor injuries during the police operations. Kommer in Friday's arrest shot at two policemen, injuring both in the leg.

Uhtegi said no commission or parliament members had visited the unit so far.

"A representative of the disciplinary bureau of the Interior Ministry was said to be arriving Friday, but he didn't. Now it is clear why," he said.

Uhtegi says the press has not been fully objective in its coverage of Friday's incidents.

"It is not clear yet who shot first—Kommer or the police. Nor is it quite true that the police opened fire at an escaping car. The car has also been shot from the front," he told BNS.

A BNS correspondent observed Kommer's car shortly after Friday's events.

The red Lada, in which Kommer fled from the site of the first incident, had four bullet holes in the windshield, three in the front, and one in the front right side panel. The rear window and the left headlight in the front were also smashed by bullets. 27.

Defense Minister on 'Remaining' Russian Forces

MK2611120093 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 19/21, 26 Nov-2 Dec 93 (signed to print 25 Nov) p 2

[Unattributed report under the "Near Abroad" column: "Estonia"]

[Text] Estonia Defense Minister Juri Luik has stated that some Russian military units remaining on the republic's territory are potential sources of danger. The minister remarked in this connection that weapons purchased in Israel can be used in any extreme situations.

National Party Elects Chairman, Council

WS2911122593 Tallinn BNS in English 1455 GMT 28 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 28, BNS—Tunne Kelam, the deputy speaker of the parliament, was elected chairman of the Estonian National Independence Party at the party's meeting Saturday [27 November].

Kelam was elected with 104 votes. His rival candidate, Vello Salum, received 42.

Out of 218 eligible delegates, 150 gathered in the small town of Tapa for the meeting.

The participants also elected the party council, which includes Lagle Parek, then the minister of the interior, and Peeter Olesk, the minister for population issues.

The meeting adopted a resolution that calls for closer cooperation among right-wing political parties in Estonia. The splintering of forces, characteristic of the current situation, may lead to "losing what has been achieved so far," the party warned.

Population Minister Peeter Olesk warned that many political leaders have yet to abandon the idea of the so-called zero option in citizenship, which would grant Estonian citizenship to all residents, without restrictions.

Parek, at that time still the interior minister, spoke about the work of the ministry. She said she expected the ministry's work to improve after the new staff finishes its training.

The National Independence Party at present has 1,088 members. Thirty have left to join other parties.

Minister on 'More Rigid' Citizenship Law

WS2911111093 Tallinn BNS in English 1425 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] TALLINN, Nov 26, BNS—Population Minister Peeter Olesk stirred tensions at a regular meeting of the round-table talks Thursday [25 November] when he spoke up for a more rigid Estonian citizenship policy.

The Ministry of Justice is already working on amendments to the citizenship law, Olesk told BNS after the meeting.

The current policy has led to a situation in which many Estonian citizens lack a sufficient command of the Estonian language. The minister sharply criticized the practice of granting citizenship by naturalization for outstanding merit.

"If a person gains citizenship for outstanding merit, these merits must be known to the public," he said.

Olesk also opposed giving a special language status to the towns in northeastern Estonia, like Narva and Sillamae. The minister visited the Russian-populated region Wednesday.

The northeastern region should transfer to full Estonian-language administration procedures as early as possible, he said. But he admitted that the process of "introducing" the Estonian language might still take a long time. The minister said Estonia should use "natural means," such as changing the ethnic composition of the region's population, population growth and assimilation, rather than administrative measures to bring about changes in the region's status quo.

Representatives of the Russian-speakers at the meeting expressed their indignation at the minister's remarks. A member of the Russian Democratic Movement said the Russian-speakers perceived Olesk's position as similar to that of the Estonian National Independence Party radicals. Another participant in the meeting said Olesk's position was "not based on deep analysis and knowledge of the situation."

The round-table meeting will continue the discussion with Olesk at its next meeting Dec. 17.

Ants Paju, the presidential representative at the talks, said the minister had to be well-informed of the positions of all parties with respect to the ethnic minorities issue.

IMF Warning on Budget Merger Proposal Noted

WS2911152293 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0859 GMT 29 Nov 93

[From 29 November ARIPAEV, p 3]

[Text] Monday, November 29—The IMF has sent a warning to Estonia in connection with the proposal by MP Mihkel Prnoja to merge the national budget and that of the Bank of Estonia, which was recently approved and then invalidated by the Riigikogu [parliament]. The ARIPAEV claims that the IMF had threatened with a reconsidering of agreements with Estonia should the proposal become a reality.

Chairman of the Bank of Estonia council Uno Mereste declined from commenting the IMF memorandum, but

stressed that only the separate national and central bank budgets enable to lead a firm monetary policy.

Ministry Group Returns From Ukraine Talks

WS2511155193 Tallinn BNS in English 1123 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, Nov 25, BNS—A delegation of the Estonian Interior Ministry, led by Minister Lagle Parek, returned Wednesday [24 November] from a two-day visit to the Ukrainian capital.

The delegation had meetings with the Ukrainian interior minister and senior ministry officials. Topics included differences in the organization of work in the two ministries, fighting organized crime and monitoring the movements of suspected criminals.

Because of changes in Estonia's political and economic situation, as well as differences in the ministry structure and principles, the parties signed a protocol to revise an earlier cooperation agreement signed in Vilnius last year.

Envoy to U.S. on Policy Toward Baltic States

WS2611114293 Tallinn BNS in English 1123 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] TARTU, Nov 24, BNS—The Estonian ambassador to the United States, Toomas Hendrik Ilves, delivered a lecture at Tartu University Tuesday [23 November] on U.S. policies in relation to the Baltic states.

Ilves said the United States is worried about Russia's endeavors to restore its empire.

"A certain sobering toward Russia can, at present, be observed in the United States' politics," Ilves said. "The public's support for Russia has considerably declined." He added that the United States is not able to guarantee the independence of those former Soviet republics that gained their independence in December 1991.

"U.S. officials state, however, that if Russia takes the course of restoring its hegemony, the Baltic states will remain outside it," Ilves said. "The Baltic states cannot be lumped together under the same heading as the other former Soviet republics, since they were occupied."

Ilves said that, though President Bill Clinton is a greater friend of the Baltics than former President George Bush, there's no major difference in their attitudes.

"The United States' relations with Estonia depend on Estonia's relations with Russia," Ilves said. He cited economic success as the best guarantee for Estonia's independence.

The ambassador claimed American businessmen are showing a growing interest in Estonia; "thanks to Estonia's success, there's a favorable attitude toward the other Baltic states, as well."

Ilves also shed light on a joint project of Tartu University and the Columbia University.

"The project involves the introduction at Tartu University of the courses of philosophy and political science, which are obligatory for all students at the University of Columbia," Ilves said. If the plan is a success, Tartu University could become Columbia University's fourth foreign partner.

Ilves was born in Stockholm in 1953. He got his bachelor's degree at Columbia and his master's degree at the University of Pennsylvania. Ilves was the head of Radio Free Europe's Estonian department. He was appointed as the Estonian ambassador to the United States in May.

EC Delegations Visit Agriculture Ministry

WS2611152693 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0857 GMT 26 Nov 93

[From 26 November RAHVA HAAL, p 1]

[Text] Friday, November 26—Coordinator of the Baltic and EC cooperation Hans Georg Gerstenlauer commented yesterday's meeting of the EC delegation and the representatives of the Estonian Agriculture Ministry. He stressed that the EC has understood the differences between the Baltic states' agrarian policies but avoids any moves than might harm the Baltic states' regional cooperation. Gerstenlauer stressed the importance of the Baltic unity in the long run. He added that the Estonian agrarian policy is "more liberal" than that of the EC, meaning the lack of subsidies to the farmers.

The EC Commission is expected to approve the draft agreements for free trade with the Baltic states next Wednesday [1 December]. But head of the EC Commission agrarian department Helmut Stadler added that the agricultural products would have to be discussed separately at the negotiations.

The EC Baltic mission based in Stockholm held a conference for civil servants and journalists at the "Palace" Hotel yesterday. Head of the mission Hans Jrn Hansen explained the EC structure and the Maastricht agreement, Anthony Morris of the EC Commission described the EC foreign policy.

Agriculture Minister on Increasing Food Prices

LD2611120793 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1000 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Excerpts] Agriculture Minister Jaan Leetsar gave a news conference today, with the focus on the situation in Estonian agriculture. Juhan Virkus went along.

[Begin recording] [Virkus] [passage omitted; Agriculture Minister Leetsar recently returned from a FAO conference, and talks about what was said about subsidies]

[Virkus] At the same time, we know that the Estonian Government is incapable of subsidizing agriculture at

present. Taking into account the situation in the world food market, should we be expecting quite a substantial increase in the price of foodstuffs?

[Leetsar] Yes, I think so. It will definitely happen in the near future. However, our analysis shows that producers will not be gaining much from this price increase. Any price increases at present will end up in the pockets of tradesmen. Trade markups for Estonian produce amount to between 20-30 percent on the average, and for some goods even 50 percent or more. We have just had a meeting with producers on precisely this issue—how to achieve the aim that some of this trade markup would also end up with the producer, and producers are tackling this issue.

[Virkus] Does our government have any plans at all to interfere in these price increases?

[Leetsar] The government has discussed price increases and reached the conclusion that trade markups for some goods should be regulated through tariffs. This means that the prices of basic goods go down once markups are reduced, and that way we will ensure that the poorer sections of our population and pensioners have better access to foodstuffs. [end recording]

European Union Officials Hold Press Conference 25 Nov

WS2611153993 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 2013 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, November 25—Helmuth Stadler, head of European Union [EU] Directorate of Agriculture agricultural trade department told a press conference, on Thursday [25 November], that the main aim of a group of EU agriculture officials meetings and talks in Estonia was to get information on the situation of Estonian agriculture to be used at the forthcoming negotiations between Estonia and EU on free trade agreement.

"Farm products have to be dealt separately at the negotiations, for they form a different issue, because of climate conditions etc.," Stadler said.

Ants Laansalu, councillor at the Estonian Ministry of Agriculture said that Estonia expects as large scale of agricultural products as possible to be included in the free trade agreements. "We are not content with the free trade agreement to be used only unilaterally," Laansalu said.

Laansalu said that EU, like Estonia, was also considering giving up subsidizing agriculture and supporting certain ways of life and professions instead.

Hans Georg Gerstenlauer, EC desk officer for the Baltic states told an information conference, on Thursday, that it had to be taken into account that Estonia and EU agriculture systems were "very different"—he pointed out that contrary to EU heavily subsidized agriculture, Estonia has a "very open agriculture".

Representatives of Former Soviet Nations Meet

WS2611154193 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 2013 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Tallinn, November 24—Organization for Unrepresented Nations (OUN) Tartu coordination centre will organize a regional meeting of representatives of former Soviet Union nations, from Friday to Monday, at Otepaa, south-east Estonia.

Director of the Tartu coordination centre, deputy secretary general of OUN Linnart Mall told ETA that the main topics under discussion will be OUN member nations rights declaration and the situation of those nations in the Russian Federation.

OUN, founded in February 1991 for former SU nations, not represented in international organizations, greatly supported by Estonia as an associate member, comprises 36 former Soviet Union nations.

Latvia

Prime Minister Questioned on Management 'Shake-Up'

WS2611154693 Tallinn BNS in English 1230 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Riga, Nov 26, BNS—Latvian lawmakers sent Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs an opposition question regarding the planned management shake-up in the country's Citizenship and Immigration Department.

The Saeima regulations stipulate that the premier must give his answer to such claims in 48 hours.

The Homeland and Freedom faction claims that the Latvian Government was affected by "the international lobbyists of the Russian imperialism" when it decided to "take a political revenge on the patriotically-disposed employees at the department."

The faction asked the premier a rhetorical question, "When will Latvia's interior institutions get rid of former KGB agents amidst their employees?"

The Homeland and Freedom document implies that the Citizenship and Immigration Department employs the largest number of nationally-loyal officials.

As reported, the Cabinet ruled Tuesday [23 November] to suspend Maris Plavnieks, the head of the department, to check his record on charges of departmental misconduct. The suspension lasts 10 days.

Birkavs first announced the intended department reorganization during his Oct. 29 meeting with the Helsinki Watch U.S.-based human group.

Helsinki Watch presented the Latvian Government with a scathing report alleging that the department systematically violated the rights of people, mainly ethnic Russians, applying for citizenship.

The Latvian registration law only bars registration for Russian servicemen and their families and people residing temporarily in Latvia. The department denied registration to those who had served in or been employed by the Soviet Army and their families. It also denied registration to those people residing in hostels, said Helsinki Watch's reports.

The group also recommended Latvia immediately approve "a zero option" in citizenship, thus naturalizing all permanent residents in the country.

Birkavs told reporters Nov. 4 that the department neglected court rulings. From 99 claims, the department has met only 17, Birkavs said.

On the other hand, Birkavs said, Latvia is full of undesired criminals and "persons who should not be in Latvia." The department failed to tackle the problem efficiently, he noted.

These two considerations have forced the government to reorganize the department, said Birkavs.

Nonetheless, he said that Helsinki Watch's report is biased. "They ignore the factual Latvian tragedy—Latvia's occupation (by Soviets in 1940) and its grave consequences."

The Latvian Foreign Ministry has also denounced the Helsinki Watch's findings stating that "a refusal to register an individual for potential citizenship is an administrative procedure and not a breach of human rights."

Birkavs, CSCE Head Discuss Various Issues

LD2611231693 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Meeting today with Latvia's Prime Minister Valdis Birkavs, Hugh Gerard Hamilton, head of the CSCE mission to Riga, expressed hope that the mission will assist Latvia to solve the political problems of the transition period. Birkavs informed the head of mission about the citizenship bill proposed by the Latvian Way and the Peasants' Union, and how it differs from the solutions to the citizenship question proposed by other Latvian political forces.

He also explained the need for a referendum after the adoption of the law. Speaking about the withdrawal of the Russian army, Birkavs emphasized that in principle Latvia accepts Russia's offer to withdraw the army from Latvia by 31 August 1994, but on no account can it agree to the preservation of the Skrunda radar station in Latvia up to the year 2000.

Ruling Coalition Adopts Citizenship Proposal

WS2611154493 Tallinn BNS in English 1230 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] Riga, Nov 26, BNS—Latvian lawmakers adopted the ruling coalition's citizenship proposal as a basis for the country's citizenship law after a seven-hour debate late Thursday night [25 November].

The bill was passed its first reading with 53 votes for, 28 votes against and six abstentions. The bill should reach a final decision this spring.

The proposal recognizes the citizenship of persons who were Latvian citizens on June 14, 1940, and their descendants.

For non-citizens, it grants Latvian citizenship under a system of annual naturalization quotas. The quotas will be presented later by the government and approved by the parliament.

It also requires a 10-year residency threshold, a conversational knowledge of the Latvian language, a knowledge of key elements of the Lativan constitution and a loyalty oath.

Exemptions are offered to people married to Latvian citizens for more than five years, and who have lived in Latvia for at least three years.

Other exemptions may be offered to people who lived in Latvia before 1940, regardless of citizenship, those who arrived in Latvia through the German occupation, people of Baltic origin and people with special merits.

Retired officers of the Soviet Army are restricted from citizenship.

In total, 87 deputies took part in picking the citizenship proposal from the five versions submitted by the Homeland and Freedom, the National Independence Movement, the Equality of Rights, the Concord for Latvia and the ruling coalition of the Latvia's Way and the Farmers' Union.

The bill will be submitted to the CSCE, the European Parliament and the Council of Europe for expert review.

Differences in Citizenship Issues Noted

PM2611164993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Irina Litvinova: "Latvia Begins Examining Law on Citizenship"]

[Text] Riga—Five draft laws on citizenship were presented by Latvian Saeima factions at a plenary session on 25 November. As is known, Latvia is the only remaining republic of the former Union in which the citizenship issue has not been settled. At the moment citizenship is "inherited": Those who were citizens in Latvia before 1940 and their descendants are deemed by the state to be citizens.

The adoption of a law on citizenship was one condition of the admission of the republic to the Council of Europe: It was deferred for that reason from this fall to next spring.

The Saeima Juridical Commission proposed taking as a first-reading basis the draft law of the "Latvijas Cels" ("Latvian Path") and "Zemnieku Savieniba" ("Peasant Union") ruling coalition. It envisages a 10-year residency qualification, knowledge of Latvian and of the constitution, an oath of loyalty, and evidence of legal means of support. Naturalization, under the draft law, is possible only in accordance with annual quotas, which are set by the Cabinet of Ministers. In view of the fact that hundreds of thousands of Latvian noncitizens are potentially "waiting in line" for citizenship of their country, the process could be a long one. Some categories of inhabitants are deemed to be "untouchable": Naturalization is denied those who have worked for foreign states' special services, who have been convicted of serious crimes, and others.

The national-radicals from the "Tevzemei un Brivibai" ("For Fatherland and Freedom") faction consider that naturalization should not be available to those who entered Latvia between June 1940 and July 1992. These deputies, like their colleagues from the Latvian National Independence Movement, believe that naturalization is not possible until all Russian forces have been withdrawn from the republic's territory. The Latvian National Independence Movement proposes setting a naturalization quota of 10 percent of the natural growth in the number of citizens. Aivars Endzins, chairman of the Saeima Juridical Commission, admitted that in those circumstances naturalization would be indefinitely postponed, since Latvia has negative natural growth at the moment.

The "Equal Rights" faction's draft provides for a so-called "zero option"—permanent inhabitants of Latvia who have lived in the republic since May 1990, when the declaration of the restoration of Latvian independence was proclaimed, will be deemed to be citizens. This variant is recommended by the experts of the international human rights organization "Helsinki Watch" (headquarters in New York), who have submitted their materials to the Latvian authorities.

Observers are of the view that the latest political steps show that the authorities will again delay the decision on the question of Latvian citizenship.

National Block Formed in Saeima

WS2611112993 Riga LETA in English 1028 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Riga, November 25 (LETA)—November 24 a new team of like-minded politicians was formed into a national bloc. 26 deputies signed the founding declaration: 14 deputies from LNNK faction (Latvia's National Independence Movement), 5 members of the faction "For Fatherland and Freedom", one representative of the Latvia's Farmers Union, one—of Democratical Party, and also independent deputy Andris Saulitis.

One of the leaders of the national bloc Aristids Lambergs stressed at the news conference that the main aim of this body is to protect the Latvian people's national interests in parliament. Another leader, Maris Grinblats, added that originally the bloc's formation had been inspired by the reviewing of the citizenship law in the parliament. The new bloc, he said, is going to insist on citizenship matters being tackled on the basis of the 1919 citizenship law, taking into account certain clauses of the projects developed by the factions "For Fatherland and Freedom" and LNNK. If necessary, said Maris Grinblats, a national referendum should be held. The bloc intends to uphold the concept of a law on foreigners and non-citizens.

Agriculture Minister Meets EC Specialists

LD2411190793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] Latvia's Agriculture Minister Janis Kinna and other specialists from the ministry met representatives of various departments of the agriculture division [as heard] of the European Community at the Agriculture Ministry today. Among problems, Janis Kinna mentioned that the Russian market has practically been lost, which makes the marketing of many products produced in Latvia more complicated.

Granting of long-term loans to peasants also creates difficulties. Inflation and high interest rates make the loans practically inaccessible to peasants. Therefore, as the minister put it, granting of long-term loans by the World Bank would be very significant.

The unprotectedness of the internal market and resulting from this flow of cheap foreign products to the Latvian internal market also does major harm to Latvian agriculture. Therefore, Kinna stressed the importance of the introduction of economically substantiated import duties.

During the meeting the European Community representatives were also informed about grain and milk procurement prices and the policy of price formation in Latvia. The European Community specialists were particularly interested in the effectiveness and productivity of presently existing economic formations—communal farms [reformed collective farms], private farms, and private plots.

Lithuania

Brazauskas Says Relations With Russia Improving

LD2611223193 Stockholm Radio Sweden in English 1715 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] At a press conference in Stockholm visiting Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas says relations between the Baltic nation and Russia have improved following the withdrawal of the last Russian troops. He says the most important question being discussed is the military transportation through Lithuania to the Russian enclave of Kaliningrad.

Outlines Future Tasks

PM2411151793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Nov 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Lashkevich report: "Brazauskas Rejects Opposition's Charges"]

[Text] The extradition to Lithuania of the organizers of the 13 January putsch in Vilnius, the return of historical and cultural treasures, archives (including the KGB archives), and the Lithuanian Embassy buildings in Rome and Paris, and a number of economic problems figure as priority tasks that must be resolved together with Russia in the near future. This has been stated by Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas on Lithuanian radio.

He considered the talks held in Vilnius with Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and the signed package of agreements very promising and positive for Lithuania. The president stressed the importance of cooperation, above all in the sphere of the economy, particularly as the first step toward strengthening bilateral economic contacts has been taken: Most-favored-nation status has been established with Russia, customs duties on goods imported by Lithuania have been reduced, and so forth.

The assessment of Russian-Lithuanian relations by the president and head of state is extremely important at the present time, because there is in Lithuania today a powerful rising wave of criticism of the signed documents, which are mostly interpreted as unilateral concessions to Russia. As always the right-wing opposition and its leader, Vytautas Landsbergis, are riding the crest of that wave. They are particularly opposed to the idea of floating shares in the main gas pipeline, Jonava's Azotas plant, and Mazeikiai's Nafta petroleum refinery, the terms governing military transit across Lithuania to Kaliningrad Oblast, and so forth. Brazauskas flatly rejected allegations that the country's independence is under threat, that economic ties are disadvantageous, that treaties with Russia are being secretly prepared, and so forth.

Fearing the consequences of the adverse influence on the course of further talks with Russia which the opposition, brandishing the "imperial Moscow" bugaboo, has constantly exerted, the Lithuanian leader decided to make a preemptive tactical move. On returning from Moscow, where he met with Boris Yeltsin, he stated that the state delegation at the talks with Russia had largely run out of steam. In all probability the state delegation will soon be disbanded and the talks conducted by groups of experts and specialist delegations geared toward particular problems. Whatever happens, the president has, by all accounts, given up on the state delegation, having stated his intention to seek new organizational means of holding the talks. Of course, the president's intention to improve the system of bilateral talks also provokes keen resistance from the right-wing opposition, which is given to overpoliticization of the negotiation process, a constant search for enemies in democratic Russia, and even anti-Russian statements. However, Brazauskas is hardly going to give in to this pressure, as he understands full well what the consequences could be of the advice of the right-wingers, who bear no responsibility whatever for the state's foreign policy.

Comments on NATO, Peace Program

WS2511121693 Tallinn BNS in English 1920 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] Vilnius, Nov 24, BNS—Lithuania wants to sign a defense cooperation agreement with NATO and to look at the option of membership in the organization, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said at a meeting of foreign ambassadors Wednesday [24 November].

Brazauskas authorized Lithuanian Defense Minister Linas Linkevicius to inform NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner of Lithuania's position during their scheduled meeting in Brussels today.

Brazauskas told the ambassadors about his letter to Woerner and an answer received from the NATO secretary general, the Lithuanian radio reported. According to the report, Woerner says NATO processes are directed at creating a security space that would guarantee security and territorial integrity of all the countries in Eastern Europe. The letter reportedly notes that Brazauskas' arguments will be considered at an upcoming NATO summit.

The Lithuanian president expressed his support for NATO in its efforts to expand the security zone in Europe. Brazauskas also welcomed the Partnership for Peace program, which was proposed by the United States.

The Lithuanian leader said the new Russian military doctrine causes great concern. He noted that it is difficult to comment on the doctrine without having seen its official text, but judging from some reports, it causes some worry, he said. Especially in countries like Lithuania, which are searching for ways to integrate into NATO, Brazauskas' said.

Dan Nielsen, Denmark's ambassador to Lithuania, reportedly expressed an interest in the stabilizing processes in Russia. If Lithuania sees ways of improving its relations with Russia, it would correspond with interests of the West, he said.

The president and the ambassadors also discussed Lithuania's cooperation with the European Community and the possibility of becoming its associate member.

Slezevicius Says Accords With Russia 'Not Secret'

LD2511175193 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius was giving a lengthy explanation at a news conference today about Russian-Lithuanian agreements, which were signed on 19 November.

The prime minister maintained that the agreements were not secret and what is more, they were not (?made) in secret. He expressed surprise at statements made by some politicians, which maintained that the documents had been prepared in secret, away from the public, and that some verbal agreements with Russia could be detrimental to Lithuania's interests.

Speaking about the future agreement on Russia's military transit to the Kaliningrad region, which has been especially criticized, Slezevicius said that with this document, Lithuania will have to establish a strict order on what sort of military equipment, and in what way it would be allowed to move through the territory of Lithuania.

According to the prime minister, the agreement will comply with all the international norms, therefore, in order to ensure this, foreign experts have been invited by the Lithuanian Government to take part in the negotiations.

Answering criticism concerning the possibility of allowing in Russian capital through the privatization of Lithuanian oil and gas enterprises, Slezevicius maintained that first of all it would have to be made clear whether this would be beneficial to Lithuania and only then will projects be set up. According to the prime minister, not more than 20-40 percent of the Mazeikiai oil refinery and the Lithuanian Gas enterprise capital is planned to be privatized. Some of the shares could be sold to the Russian oil company Lukoil and the gas company Lentransgas.

Slezevicius has no doubts about the benefits of such a deal because, according to him, the suppliers of raw materials for power engineering would be interested in selling them cheaper. The prime minister used the Estonian example when (a gas enterprise) was sold to Lentransgas on more than one occasion at this news conference as well.

Lithuanian Prime Minister Slezevicius criticized the report made by Ambassador at Large Ceslovas Stankevicius on the national TV Panorama program yesterday. The prime minister said that the position of a state official who criticizes the government's policy is unique in inverted commas. More resolute actions should be taken against such officials, Slezevicius believes.

Accords 'Equally Advantageous'

PM2411112193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 23 Nov 93 p 2

[By Sergey Balyutskiy "Commentary": "Lithuania-Russia: Mutual Advantage and No Pressure"]

[Text] Vilnius—The nine interstate documents, including the Agreement on Trade and Economic Relations Between the Russian Federation Government and the Lithuanian Republic Government, which were signed in Vilnius 18 November, enshrine agreements which are only too rare in interstate relations, whereby neither of the contracting parties loses out.

"The adopted documents are equally advantageous to both Russia and Lithuania. The current meeting is a big step forward in relations between the two states. It is a breakthrough in our relations," Viktor Chernomyrdin stated after they had been signed, as if to reinforce the Lithuanian premier's words the previous day.

However, no matter how important the signed accords may be, the questions which Lithuania and Russia agreed to solve in the very near future have become even more important.

"We have decided to create commissions to privatize main gas pipelines, the Jonava nitrogenous fertilizer combine, and the Mazeikiai oil refinery. In the very near future they will determine the ways and means of privatization.

"It is Lithuania that is primarily interested in joint ownership of these facilities, because this form of ownership will make it possible to considerably step up their activity. As regards the Jonava plant, which operates on natural gas, it is now at a total standstill and we hope that when the 'Lentransgaz' Concern becomes one of its shareholders the raw material supply problems will diminish considerably," A. Slezevicius stressed.

Moreover, he informed journalists, during the talks consideration was even given to the possibility of Russian firms participating in the construction of an oil terminal near Klaipeda, conceived of as...an alternative to Russia's oil domination in the Baltic region.

Chernomyrdin talked about the need for detailed study of questions regarding flotation, the legal principles of joint ownership, and the setting up of joint enterprises.

Here we should, admittedly, add that Industry and Trade Minister K. Klimasauskas somewhat disavowed the statement by both his boss and the Russian premier in a lobby conversation with journalists. In his opinion the route toward this cooperation is considerably more complex than could be imagined after hearing the speeches by the heads of government. However, in all probability these statements by the minister himself should be considered from the political rather than the economic viewpoint, which makes seemingly obvious things incredibly complex.

At the talks themselves, the most important result was evidently the decision that both states should start preparing an agreement on a free trade system between them. The importance of this accord is indicated by just one figure, cited by Slezevicius: Trade with Russia accounts for over one-third of the republic's total trade turnover. And whereas the most-favored-nation status that has come into force is making it possible to halve customs duties, a free trade system would eliminate them altogether.

The first step toward adopting this document has already been taken: A treaty on free trade between Lithuania and

Russia's Kaliningrad Oblast was concluded some months ago. Unless, as has been the case many times before, politics interferes with economics... But it did leave its imprint on this meeting between the Lithuanian and Russian leaders, which was apparently to have been devoted exclusively to economic questions.

Strange as it may seem, preparations for the talks have earned the opposition's...praise. True, in his LIETUVOS AIDAS article, Seimas Member R. Ozolas complimented only the Russian side. Incidentally, these compliments were somewhat backhanded.

"The Russians operate very professionally. In 70 years they have learned how to pressurize small cogs like Lithuania," he writes.

What exactly displeases the gentleman deputy? Nothing specifically, apart from the opposition's usual claims that, as a result of the adopted agreements, "Lithuania could become like a part of Russia" and that generally "Russia is unreliable as a partner." Evidently it is in these opinions that we should seek the reason for the industry minister's doubt. But maybe it is no bad thing if you are being criticized by your opponents? Because this usually happens when you are on the right track.

Foreign Minister Departs for CSCE Meeting

LD2911114993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 29 Nov 93

[Text] The Foreign Ministry Press and Information Department reported that Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys has left for Rome today to take part in the sitting of foreign ministers of the CSCE states to be held in Rome 30 November-1 December.

Gylys will leave Rome for Brussels, where he will take part in the conference of foreign ministers of states belonging to the North Atlantic Cooperation Council. The conference will start on 3 December.

From Brussels, Gylys will leave for Tallinn to meet the Latvian and Estonian foreign ministers on 6 December.

Deputy Foreign Minister on Talks With Russia

LD2411234893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1300 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] Lithuanian Deputy Foreign Minister Albinas Januska says that the negotiations between Lithuania and Russia should be conducted, not by the state delegation as hitherto, but by the Foreign Affairs Ministry.

He said this in an interview published today by the Lithuanian newspaper LIETUVOS RYTAS. According to Januska, the Lithuanian state delegation is a kind of mini-ministry for relations with Russia. Meanwhile, it is difficult within its framework to reach coordinated agreements as the delegation includes representatives of various political organizations. Januska considers that as the responsibility for negotiations is borne by the Foreign Affairs Ministry, it is logical for it to conduct negotiations. In case a compromise is needed on issues concerning the negotiations, this can be reached in the Seimas Foreign Affairs Committee that includes representatives of various political forces, said Januska.

The deputy foreign minister was also for the formation of a consultative council or group of strategic planning, attached to the Lithuania president, for coordinating foreign policy trends. This institution, in the opinion of Januska, should include the prime minister, the foreign affairs minister, the national defense minister and, possibly, representatives of other departments.

Defense Minister on Visit to NATO Headquarters

LD2511233793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1700 GMT 25 Nov 93

[Text] No negative answers have been received in Brussels, was how the visit to the NATO headquarters in Brussels was described at a news conference today by Lithuanian National Defense Minister Linas Linkevicius, ELTA reported.

According to the minister, during the two days 17 meetings took place with NATO leaders and officers. The importance of drawing up Lithuania's military doctrine and the security concept, as well as their practical implementation, was greatly emphasized.

The defense minister and commander of the Lithuanian Army General Jonas Adriskevicius voiced the opinion of Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas at a meeting with NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner that Lithuania is prepared to sign an agreement on partnership and cooperation with NATO.

The idea to sign agreements with the East and Central European states was proposed by the United States. This proposal was named "Partnership for Peace." The idea is currently being discussed by the NATO states.

The signing of the agreement on "Partnership for Peace" is necessary although it is not sufficient for the interested states to become members of the military bloc. It is expected that the U.S. proposal will be officially approved at the meeting of leaders of the NATO states, which will be held on 10 January 1994 in Brussels.

The NATO leaders understand Lithuania's concern about the militarized Kaliningrad region. It was said that this was a problem that concerns not only Lithuania's security but also the security of all the Baltic Sea region.

If the agreement "Partnership for Peace" is approved, then it could improve relations between NATO and the East and Central European states, Linkevicius said.

The Defense Ministry is expecting proposals from NATO in the near future concerning Lithuanian military doctrine. On the request of NATO leaders, the ministry

will prepare a list of problems in the military forces that could be solved with the help of this military bloc.

Talks Continue on Belarus Border Delimitation

LD2611225593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1500 GMT 26 Nov 93

[Text] The Lithuanian Foreign Ministry does not have any official information that the Belarusian side would like to revise the border delimitation agreements. Negotiations have been continuing on this issue for almost two years now.

According to Deputy Foreign Minister Albinas Januska, any unilateral revision of the achieved compromises or refusal to accept them would destroy a whole range of previous agreements.

As already announced, the Belarusian Foreign Ministry and the parliament foreign affairs commission opposed the intentions of the Belarusian Government to hand over the Adutiskis railway station to Lithuania. A joint conclusion was submitted to the parliament session last Wednesday that the Adutiskis station must belong to the Belarusian railway system and that the state borders, according to the Constitution, can be changed only by parliament.

The handing over of the Adutiskis railway station was envisaged in a protocol signed in Vilnius by Prime Ministers Adolfas Slezevicius and Vyacheslav Kebich on 29 October. The agreement on this station is linked with a packet of other important agreements and compromises and the striving for the improvement of relations between the two sides.

I believe that the Belarusian side, too, is interested in completing the work concerning the delimitation of the border, Deputy Foreign Minister Januska told an ELTA correspondent.

Landsbergis on Russian Military Doctrine

LD2511101093 Vilnius Radio Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2200 GMT 24 Nov 93

[Text] Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the Homeland Union [Tevynas Santara] opposition, has urged the Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to state its position on Russian military doctrine. In a statement circulated Wednesday, Vytautas Landsbergis claimed that by this doctrine and other statements Russia is exerting psychological pressure and building up an atmosphere of stress with regard to its neighbors.

The rightwing opposition leader brought attention to the information appearing in the foreign press that at a meeting of foreign ministers to be held 30 November within the framework of the European Conference on Security and Cooperation Russia will seek to obtain consent for its military actions outside Russia's borders. We must have no doubt that the representative of the Republic of Lithuania at that meeting will vote against proposals containing any such authorization, the statement reads.

Faction Guidelines Deemed Unconstitutional

WS2911125493 Tallinn BNS in English 1423 GMT 27 Nov 93

[Text] Vilnius, Nov 27, BNS—The Lithuanian Constitutional Court ruled that the established guidelines for creating factions in the Lithuanian parliament violates the Constitution.

An appeal against the existing faction registration rules was filed by a group of opposition MPs. The initiators of the case said the principle of registering factions on the basis of the results in proportional elections contradicts the Constitution. The principle served as basis for refusal to register three rightist factions.

Juozas Zilys, chairman of the Constitutional Court, said article 25 of the parliament's statute, which discusses faction registration, conflicts with the Constitution and will have to be changed.

This was the fifth case tried by the Constitutional Court and the second won by the parliament's rightist opposition.

Natio ogress Council Issues Statement

WS2911140193 Vilnius RESPUBLIKA in Lithuanian 11 Nov 93 No 218 p 4

[Statement issued by the Council of the Movement for National Progress on 3 November; place not given: "Reflections on Organized Crime Prevention"]

[Text] History shows that all states experience criminal crises and periods of the uncontrolled rage of offensive groups. Such periods are also characterized by an unconcealed corruption of all power centers, their relations with shadow structures, and the community's indifference to crime detection. Such developing processes cause social tension and pose a threat to the constitutional system of the state—that is why civilized countries used to adopt measures restricting the Mafia's power.

We have no information that would allow us to assess the scale of this dangerous disease in Lithuania. Judging by constant explosions, terrorist attacks against journalists, and armed clashes among gangs themselves, we can state that the final stage in distributing spheres of influence and a struggle for control over political authorities have begun in Lithuania. Apart from general principles, the situation in Lithuania has certain specific features:

1. Shadow structures acquire financial power by controlling privatization and taking turnover taxes from many economic subjects, which would account for two or three official annual state budgets, in terms of money.

2. Our community tolerates the state's cheating. A large part of the population accumulated certain assets (hard

currency savings, homes, cars) during the Soviet years by taking advantage of contradictions in former laws or violating them. Unfortunately, these people have "transferred" their nihilistic attitude toward Soviet laws to Lithuanian laws.

3. Law enforcement structures have been "corrupted" by bribery since the last war. Authorities would demand strict obedience, dictate decisions and sentences in the political sphere, and look through their fingers at money making when resolving other problems.

Prosecutors, investigators, or lawyers, who agree to "help citizens in trouble," feel neither fear nor pangs of guilt because they have been doing this since the beginning of their careers.

4. Relatively poor people have governed Lithuania since the restoration of its independence; their salaries are only sufficient for survival. Under such circumstances, commercial structures, without dividing them into "white" or "black," find their "representatives" in all government structures quite easily. The principle—when the state does not pay its officials, the Mafia will—has been fully realized in Lithuania.

5. The interests of the extreme opposition, which openly advocates the slogan "The worse, the better," and shadow structures coincide. The opposition needs the chaos for early elections, while shadow structures require it for their full domination in Lithuania.

6. Lithuania has no state-protected structures capable of combating organized crime.

7. Favorable conditions for several Asian Mafias to establish themselves in Lithuania have been created, because it is here that they might have had and have support from and a lobby in our top state structures. We might suppose that these Mafias took advantage of good relations existing between leaders of their countries and certain Lithuanian top officials.

Therefore, it is necessary that the Lithuanian Seimas [parliament] immediately adopt the proposed anti-corruption law and the criminal law, and make amendments in the existing laws, although we should not expect a speedy effect or any essential change in the situation.

The primary accumulation of capital in Lithuania has been occurring during the period of the decline of the old legal system and the formation of a new one. Thus, the draft law on the declaration of incomes has no significance because the point of departure is unclear. It would not be difficult to justify the acquisition of any assets by resorting to existing imperfect laws. It is only when all private property in Lithuania is officially assigned to definite owners that the law will become really valid.

States which curbed Mafia structures did not wait so long and adopted measures that could hardly be called democratic, given our current understanding:

1. Having no decisions from legal powers, leaders of special services alone provoked clashes between armed gangs, while the winners were defeated by groups created at the special services themselves.

2. Since it was impossible to provoke well-known Mafia leaders to engage in criminal operations, legal cases and evidence against them were fabricated. Special services in one West European country dealt with all famous Mafia bosses overnight, and this was treated as a normal phenomenon in a country with a centuries-old democratic tradition.

Unfortunately, we cannot make use of such methods for many reasons. Without doubt, there is a threat that the fight against the Mafia may be used as a cover to persecute the opposition—both the extreme right and left. There must be reliable guarantees that this struggle will not be used to persecute political opponents.

Since the activities of criminal structures already pose a threat to the security of our state, the time has come to adopt resolute and immediate measures. The Seimas must promptly allot additional finances to the state security and interior systems. We believe that the moves of the Lithuanian president are particularly important under these difficult conditions. He must realize his responsibility for the nation at last and adopt tough measures to impose order in the state. He must apply all possible measures for this. The president should understand that if he does not impose order, there will be such people, loving Lithuania and wishing to help it in the current crisis, who will try to curb the rage of criminals with their own measures.